

Crusading in Art, Thought and Will

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Crusading in Art, Thought and Will

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Introduction

Crusade scholarship experienced a significant rise in popularity in the decades surrounding the turn of the twenty-first century, due in no small part to their perceived relevance to the increase in military conflicts in the modern Middle East. Behind the surface turmoil is an underlying desire for greater understanding, whether it be of the origins of the conflicts between East and West, Muslim and Christian, or of the complex interactions between two or more distinct cultures. As a consequence, crusade scholars have developed many new methods for practicing their craft. In recent decades, crusade scholarship has expanded greatly from solely military and political studies into an array of interdisciplinary endeavors. The fields employed range from art history to theology, philosophy to sociology, and anthropology to archaeology. It is through this multiplicity of approaches that we are able to draw a clearer picture of the events, how they were perceived at the time, and the ramifications they had for the various societies of Africa, Asia, and Europe.

The crusades were, without question, one of the most impactful series of events in the medieval histories of Europe, western Asia, and northern Africa, the legacies of which reverberate to the present day. In order to better understand these landmark events, one must attempt to access the intellectual space in which contemporaries experienced the crusades. This quest constitutes the basis for the present collection of studies. The first approach to understanding comes through an examination of the structures, both tangible and conceptual, erected by contemporaries to interpret, engage with, and exploit the crusade movement. Our second path involves an examination of the ways in which the crusades were presented to those remote from the field of battle, to recruit, to raise funds, to honor those who came before: crusade preaching. The third and final line of attack focuses on how conceptions of the crusades and its combatants influenced the perspectives held by contemporaries and affected political and religious structures, both contemporary and centuries later. Such a varied approach to the crusades enables a better understanding of how the campaigns and participants were conceived of at the time, and illuminates what contemporaries held to be the most important aspects and lessons of the religious-military endeavor.

The first section focuses on the reception and expression of the crusades through creative mediums. Drawing upon other uses of architecture as monumental expressions of rulership, Lisa Mahoney reevaluates the role of the Church of St. Mary in Bethlehem, better known as the Church of the Nativity, as the site for the coronation of Baldwin I, first king of the Latin Kingdom of

Jerusalem. Notably, she rejects the provenance of the 1169 mosaics, traditionally credited to the initiative of the Byzantine emperor, Manuel Comnenus, and views them instead as part of the overall structural modifications of the church. The effect of aesthetic details, particularly an exquisite Tree of Jesse on the west wall of the nave, was to highlight the edifice (and the town that it occupied) as a locus of power for the Jerusalemite kings, connecting them to their counterparts in the Old Testament. In sum, Mahoney's argument puts the Church of the Nativity forth as an illustrative example of how rulers could imprint their power upon a place.

Continuing the focus on architectural details, Cathleen Fleck examines a pilaster in the façade of Sultan Hasan's fourteenth-century mosque-madrasa-mausoleum complex in Cairo. It represents an unusual relief depiction of three Jerusalem buildings, the Dome of the Rock, the Tower of David, and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and scholars have suggested that it was created in the Holy Land by a Jerusalem-trained artist, perhaps in Jerusalem just before the 1187 Muslim reconquest, or in Acre soon after 1191 when it was established as the kingdom's new capital. The specific depiction of particular buildings was highly uncommon in this artistic context, and the rarity of this representation indicates a special meaning in its production. The combination of these same three buildings on royal crusader seals suggests that the pilaster's original patron had official interests. This paper questions whether, as Zehava Jacoby has argued, such 'redundant' images originally could have had no place in Jerusalem, and as such must have originated in Acre, in remembrance of the Christian loss of these sites. Comparing representations of other buildings for their derivations, meanings, placement, and functions, Fleck argues that the pilaster was more probably located in Jerusalem, where it could have functioned as an affirmation of the leading political and liturgical roles of the represented buildings in the crusader city.

Utilizing an interdisciplinary approach that combines historical accounts and archaeological data, Tomasz Borowski reveals the surprisingly multi-denominational nature of religious sites and relics in thirteenth-century Famagusta. With the fall of Acre in 1291 and the collapse of Cilicia in 1375, numerous Christians of various creeds migrated to Cyprus as one of the last Christian strongholds in the Eastern Mediterranean. No longer able to visit many sites in the Holy Land as easily as before, pilgrims instead flocked to the sites of holy relics and churches being established in Famagusta. The religious diversity of this new urban center contributed greatly to formation of these new sites and resulted in a sharing of religious space, thus strengthening the community as a whole despite the disparity of doctrines being practiced.

Approaching the discussion of the eastern products of the crusade movement from an entirely different angle, Adam Bishop presents a case study on the influence of Roman law on the assizes of the burgess court of Jerusalem. He highlights one section of the burgess assizes dealing with property damage—specifically with damage to slaves, a special kind of property in both Roman and crusader law—and argues that it was derived from the *Lex Aquilia*, a law dating back to the Roman Republic. This law was not merely copied into the assizes, but was adapted to the particular situation in the Near East, where slaves were almost exclusively Muslim and where the social hierarchy was rather different from that of Republican and Imperial Rome. This example sheds new light on the process by which the burgess assizes were compiled and the routes of transmission of Roman influence, by showing that the revival of ancient law taking place in Europe had also spread to the crusader states. The use of the *Lex Aquilia* in Jerusalem may indicate that the crusaders were influenced by similar uses of the law in Spain and Sicily, where Christians and Muslims also lived together, or it may simply mean that legal scholars, trained in Europe, were working in the Latin East and were willing and able to adapt their knowledge of Roman law where necessary.

The second section of this volume centers on how crusade preaching was delivered and the importance of the symbolism it employed. Through the liturgical treatises used by the Paris masters and the liturgical background within which they worked, Jessalynn Bird examines the ways that sermons given on Holy Week interacted with the growing culture of crusade in Latin Christendom. In particular, preaching on the symbolism of the cross as an instrument of redemption and Christ's suffering upon it was increasingly infused with analogies to the experience of the crusader, while that imagery in turn infiltrated rhetorical descriptions of crusading elsewhere. Various preachers in the twelfth and early thirteenth century articulated this association between crusading and Christ's Passion, as well as other biblical themes, in different contexts, but the collective upshot was a new awareness of the crusader as someone engaged in the perfect *imitatio Christi*. Bird's close reading of authors including Alan of Lille, Jacques de Vitry, John the Teuton, Stephen Langton, and Odo of Cheriton makes this an excellent foray into the intellectual landscape of crusade preaching.

In his paper, C. Matthew Phillips continues the exploration of symbols and types in crusade preaching, in particular the cross, as a practical extension of the eleventh- and twelfth-century renaissance in theology. Looking at dozens of sermons, with some reference to relics and architectural elements, he maps out the efforts of authors and preachers to connect the cross to Old Testament

precedents like the bloodied doorposts of Passover and the *tau* of Ezekiel, which presented to the medieval mind a clear narrative of the redemptive power of the cross that culminated in the crusader as penitent.

Charles Connell attempts to examine and debunk the long-held scholarly assumption that apocalypticism was a major factor in the conception and promotion of crusades to the Holy Land. A systematic consideration of the evidence for papal views of Holy Land crusading, as well as for the main themes of preaching and crusade recruitment, shows that concrete traces of millenarian influence are sparse. Connell surveys the arguments of scholars who contend that, although explicit documentary evidence is scanty, apocalyptic expectations nonetheless played a strong role in the conception and preaching of the First Crusade, and finds them unconvincing. In the twelfth century, despite the revival of apocalypticism and its use in other contexts by crusade promoters like Bernard of Clairvaux, it played a negligible role in framing the crusade. In the thirteenth century, this theme did begin to influence the conceptions of the crusade by popes and preachers, particularly given the spread of Joachite thought and its influence on the Franciscan Order. This coincided, however, with the gradual decline of the viability of crusading to the Holy Land. Connell suggests that one explanation was the divided approach to the Muslims—drive out or convert—suggested by the apocalyptic interpretation of the crusade and reflected in the priorities of Franciscan preachers. This multiplication of priorities, as well as the proliferation of potential targets for crusading, diluted the focus and urgency of the message crusading for the Holy Land. Thus, if apocalypticism ever did play a significant role, it was likely to have been as much negative as positive.

The third and final section of this volume examines different facets of how the crusades were perceived in Europe. Richard Allington explores the divergence between papal and Byzantine agendas in the mid-twelfth century, focusing on John Comnenus' attempt to seize control of Antioch and Innocent II's response to it. Prior to this conflict, Eastern and Western Christianity had more or less cooperated in the execution of the crusades, but they did so for contrasting and ultimately incompatible motives. The reform papacy not only viewed the crusades as a tool through which to extend papal control over a wider swath of Christendom, but also perceived the success of the First Crusade as divine validation for their reform ideals. Meanwhile, the Byzantine emperors Alexius and John viewed crusaders as an exceptional mercenary force that had come to fulfill the request to restore Byzantine suzerainty over the lands the Eastern Empire had lost to Islam over the centuries. The attempted seizure of Antioch was a natural extension of the Byzantine understanding, but a direct affront to the papal perception of a divine mandate for which

Innocent rebuked John. Moreover, Allington shows that Byzantine uncooperativeness in the Second Crusade stemmed from John's view of it as an attempt to punish him for attempting to take Antioch.

Shifting the focus from allies to enemies, Yan Bourke examines portrayals of Muslims in the *Gesta Francorum* and several derivative texts. As European authors struggled to interpret an altogether unknown enemy for their readers, Muslims were variously depicted as savage, decadent, or immoral. However, despite the accepted commonalities between the *Gesta* family of texts, there was considerable disparity in the manner in which Islam was portrayed. Bourke employs a two-pronged approach to the *Gesta* and the derivative texts of Robert the Monk, Peter Tudebode, Baldric of Dol, and Guibert of Nogent. By examining each author's conception of Muslim religious identity and use of violence to accentuate the "otherness" of Muslims, Bourke shows that even among closely related accounts of the First Crusade, authors made significant intentional changes to the original text, either to correct factual errors or to emphasize their own conceptions of crusading regarding the perception of Muslims.

Despite the final loss of the Holy Land in the late thirteenth century, crusading remained an important tradition well into the early modernity. Nevertheless, scholars have been hesitant about treating the role of crusading in the life and philosophy of St. Ignatius of Loyola. Although it is difficult to find direct evidence, the prevalence of ambient crusading ideology, combined with Ignatius' personal experience as a knight and pilgrim, suggests that crusading was influential for Ignatius and the order he founded. Sam Zeno Conedera approaches this subject by reexamining the sources alongside recent scholarship. In particular, he focuses upon Loyola's attitudes towards monarchy and the terminology used for the religious in Ignatius' new order.

The present volume provides a selection of recent scholarship in crusade studies. All of the studies herein were presented at the third quadrennial International Symposium on Crusade Studies held at Saint Louis University between 28 February and 1 March 2014. Since its inception, the Symposium has striven to bring together crusade scholars from a variety of disciplines and career levels to share their work and advance the field through mutual discourse. Originally conceived of by a group of graduate students at Saint Louis University, the Symposium has continued to be a student-driven endeavor, with many of the university's scores of medieval degree-seekers providing key organizational and support roles.¹ The content of this volume, focused on themes of art,

1 For more information about crusade-related happenings at Saint Louis University, please visit the Crusades Studies Forum website at <http://crusades.slu.edu>.

thought and will, is representative of the diversity of approach and the high level of scholarship witnessed at the symposium.

The field of crusade studies has come a long way in the last century. Once often deemed an aberrant series of misguided military expeditions to the Levant, crusade studies have come to show how central they were to the medieval experience. The geographical, chronological, and topical diversity of the papers in this volume stands testament to just how impactful the crusades were. As more disciplines continue to produce fruitful insights into the field, this certainly is an exciting time for crusade scholarship.

Matthew E. Parker
Saint Louis University
June 2018

PART 1
Structures of Crusading



The Church of the Nativity and “Crusader” Kingship

Lisa Mahoney

Apart from the actual exercise of military might, ruling power expresses itself, and thereby exists, in two main modes: in the rituals, on the one hand, and in the works of art and architecture, on the other, that declare and sometimes justify dominion. Indeed, within the very first kingdoms known to history the latter mode has been identified in such well-known and well-studied objects as the Palette of Narmer (Egypt, c.3200 BCE) and the Stele of Naram-Sin (Mesopotamian Akkad, c.2250 BCE), both of which were clearly tasked with announcing who reigned where and by what right. These objects are useful not only because they so readily make manifest a long history of faith in the efficacy of pictorial material, but also because they so readily make manifest a subtending category distinction related to audience. The palette, which was buried in a temple to Horus, was aimed at a singular and restricted audience (Horus) while the stele, which seems to have been displayed above ground within the temple precinct of Shamash, was aimed at a decidedly less singular and less restricted audience (Shamash and all those who entered his precinct).¹

With the longstanding interdependence of rule and its material expression, and with the possibility of important differences in intended audience in mind, I would like to turn to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. In general, the art and architecture made within its boundaries has long been analyzed in terms of its original artistic impulses, that is in terms of its debt to western Christian, eastern Christian, and Islamic traditions, and in terms of what these impulses indicate about taste, marketplace, workforce, and cultural assimilation or a lack of cultural assimilation.² In what follows, I privilege instead

- 1 Irene J. Winter, “Sex, Rhetoric, and the Public Monument: The Alluring Body of Naram-Sin of Agade,” in *Sexuality in Ancient Art: Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy*, ed. Natalie B. Kampen (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996), pp. 11–26; and Irene J. Winter, “Tree(s) on the Mountain: Landscape and Territory on the Victory Stele of Naram-Sin,” in *Landscape: Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Lucio Milano, Stefano de Martino, Frederick M. Fales, and Giovanni B. Lanfranchi. 2 vols. (Padua: Sargon, 1999), 1:63–72.
- 2 Representative examples include Eva R. Hoffman, “Christian-Islamic Encounters on Thirteenth-Century Ayyubid Metalwork: Local Culture, Authenticity, and Memory,” *Gesta* 43 (2004): 129–42; David Jacoby, “Society, Culture, and the Arts in Crusader Acre,” in *France*

the subsequent political impulses that likewise motivated the manufacture of Frankish art and architecture. What emerges are works in disparate media that were charged with the vital task of expressing rule and its basis to audiences small and large, restricted and unrestricted and, moreover, a single work whose participation in this campaign demonstrates just how important such expression was. It is, in truth, the latter that lies at the heart of this study, a no longer extant mosaic of the Tree of Jesse in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. But to get there, and to appreciate what it does and how it does it, it is necessary to begin by taking wider view.

1 The Art of Ruling the Latin Kingdom

I am not the first to attend to the political impulses that lay behind Frankish visual culture, of course. Previous scholarship has found that private works or, at the very least, works of restricted audience especially yield political readings. To extend the dichotomy presented above, they are almost exclusively of the Palette of Narmer type. The ivory book covers of the Melisende Psalter (1131–1143), for example, picture the Judean king, David, as a ruler able to conquer outer and inner demons on the front and a generic king performing the Acts of Mercy from the Gospel of Matthew on the back.³ These covers and

and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades, ed. Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2004), pp. 97–137; Lucy-Anne Hunt, “Art and Colonialism: The Mosaics of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (1169) and the Problem of ‘Crusader’ Art,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 69–85; Annemarie Weyl Carr, “East, West, and Icons in Twelfth-Century Outremer,” in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, ed. Vladimir P. Goss and Christine Verzár Bornstein (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University, 1986), pp. 347–59; and David Jacoby, “Knightly Values and Class Consciousness in the Crusader States of the Eastern Mediterranean,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1 (1986): 158–86.

- 3 For a reproduction, see Bianca Kühnel, *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century: A Geographical, an Historical, or an Art Historical Notion?* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann Verlag, 1994), figs. 71 and 72. The presence of Virtues battling Vices in the roundel interstices elicits this reading of David; on imperial panegyrics and the conquest of internal and external demons, see Henry Maguire, “The Art of Comparing in Byzantium,” *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988): 93–94. The Acts of Mercy appears in Matthew at 25:35–40 (“... I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink ...”). Jaroslav Folda and Bianca Kühnel offer more circumscribed analyses of this imagery. For Folda, see “A Twelfth-Century Prayerbook for the Queen of Jerusalem,” *Medieval Perspectives* 8 (1993): 1–14; and “Melisende of Jerusalem: Queen and Patron of Art and Architecture in the Crusader Kingdom,” in *Reassessing the Roles of Women as “Makers” of Medieval Art and Architecture*, ed. Therese Martin (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 449–52. For B. Kühnel, see “The Kingly Statement of the Bookcovers of Queen Melisende’s Psalter,” in

the manuscript to which they belonged have long been associated with the Latin queen, Melisende. This object's connection to a devotional text suggests that the behavior modeled by carved rulers was meant for Melisende's eyes foremost.⁴ Within the pages of the many Levantine copies of the *Histoire d'Outremer* (or *Estoire de Eracles*), a less veiled representation of power appears. Indeed, the history of the Latin Kingdom (Outremer) that here unfolds has also afforded an opportunity for picturing rule in the Levant and, more important, orderly succession.⁵ The characteristics of these manuscripts suggest elite and not royal owners and commissioners; nevertheless, it is possible to imagine this upper class to be as invested in fabricating the ideology and even mythology of the kingdom as were its rulers. Still, as books, their audience remained restricted. Even the kingdom's seals, which contain a labeled effigy of the ruler on the obverse and a labeled representation of the place ruled on the reverse and, as such, were unequivocally designed to announce Frankish power in the Levant, anticipated an audience that included only those in the position to receive official communications.⁶

Tesseræ: Festschrift für Josef Engemann, ed. Ernst Dassmann and Klaus Thraede, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 18 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1991), pp. 340–57; and *Crusader Art of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 67–125. On the authenticity of the book covers, see Jean Brodahl, "The Melisende Psalter and Ivories (BL Egerton 1139): An Inquiry into the Status and Collecting of Medieval Art in Early Nineteenth-Century France" (PhD diss., Brown University, 1999).

- 4 Another and similar example is the Arsenal Old Testament (c. 1250; Paris, Bibliothèque d l'Arsenal, MS 5211), which emphasizes kings David and Solomon and the characteristics that made them exemplary rulers. This book, however, is generally thought to belong to Louis IX, King of France, and his four-year residence in the East. For this reason, I do not include it here. See Daniel H. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis* (Cambridge, 1998); and "The Three Solomon Portraits in the Arsenal Old Testament and the Construction of Meaning in Crusader Painting," *Arte medievale* 6 (1992): 15–38; as well as Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957), pp. 54–68. David Jacoby long ago suggested that the manuscript family to which the Arsenal Old Testament belongs was made on Cyprus, in "Society, Culture, and the Arts," pp. 118–20. This idea has been taken up by Jens T. Wollesen in *Acre or Cyprus?: A New Approach to Crusader Painting around 1300* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013).
- 5 Bianca Kühnel, "The Perception of History in Thirteenth-Century Crusader Art," in *France and the Holy Land*, ed. Weiss and Mahoney, pp. 161–86; and Iris Gerlitz, "The King is Dead, Long Live the King': Representing Transfer of Power in the Crusader *Estoire de Eracles*," in *Between Jerusalem and Europe: Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel*, ed. Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 34–56, including their figures for reproductions of relevant miniatures. On William of Tyre's history, see Peter Edbury and John Gordon Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1988). On the illuminated manuscript tradition, see Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, 87–93; Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1976).
- 6 On seals and identity, see Brigitte Bedos-Rezac, "Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept," *American Historical Review* 105 (2000): 1489–1533. The major treatments of seals in the Latin

It is objects such as these, that is objects aimed at a specific and delimited viewership, which have dominated art historical discussions of rule in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. But did the establishment of Frankish rule in the Levant not also include public works for a larger and less restricted audience? They certainly had deniers, half deniers, and drachmas that combined Latin legends naming the ruler and picturing prominent Jerusalem structures—the Tower of David (a type probably minted under Baldwin III), the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (an immobilized type first minted under Amalric and another minted under John of Brienne, albeit not immobilized)—and as such situating rule within this important city for those who could read or otherwise had become familiar with the legends, and they did so on small widely circulating objects.⁷ But did the Franks have nothing along the lines of Naram-Sin's stele? We might even leave our earlier first-kingdoms dichotomy and put it another way. Did the Franks have no monumental statements of political power? No Parthenon, Forum of Augustus, or Arch of Constantine?⁸

The royal tomb programs once prominently located at the entrances of the Church of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat and the Church of the Holy

Kingdom of Jerusalem are Hans Eberhard Mayer and Claudia Sode, *Die Siegel der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014); Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten* (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978); and Gustave Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1943). Rule in the Latin Kingdom certainly extended beyond the purview of kings and queens. On the design and use of seals belonging to patriarchs or lords, see especially Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem*, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 26 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1977); and Robert Kool, "A Deposit of Twelfth-Century Medieval Seals in Caesarea: Evidence of the Cathedral Archive of St. Peter," in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honor of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, ed. Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 181–90.

7 D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford* (London: Royal Numismatic Society, 1995), pp. 52–79 and 86–97. See also D.M. Metcalf, "Describe the Currency of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Riley-Smith, and Rudolf Hiestand (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), pp. 189–98. For baronial coinage, which is largely anonymous and therefore not immediately applicable to the study at hand, see D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, pp. 86–97; Peter Edbury, "The Baronial Coinage of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *Coinage in the Latin East*, ed. Peter Edbury and D.M. Metcalf (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1980), pp. 59–72, reprinted in Peter Edbury, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders: From Jerusalem to Cyprus* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

8 Queen Melisende's foundation of a convent in Bethany or her contribution to the twelfth-century additions of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher might be seen as simple but effective expressions not only of faith but also of rule. See Jaroslav Folda, "The South Transept Façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem: An Aspect of 'Rebuilding Zion,'" in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 250; and Folda, "Melisende of Jerusalem."

Sepulcher provide a good initial indication that the Franks did indeed aspire to such broadly communicative art.⁹ Today an understanding of these royal tombs relies in large part on fragmentary remains and primary texts. In the case of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher royal tomb program, however, it also relies on eighteenth-century drawings. These drawings record the existence of burial markers that consisted generally of a base, colonnades, a pedimental roof, and some simple decoration (see, for example, MS Vat lat 9233, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).¹⁰ Admittedly, such structures are not rich in symbolism, which may explain why their modern study has inspired the identification of their sculptural remains and their original locations rather than broader interpretive endeavors.¹¹ The very existence of these tombs, however, attests to the manipulation of artistic forms in the service of a larger political agenda—and one that expects and even demands a large (that is, unrestricted) audience. They are also exemplars of an encompassing and powerful political rhetoric.

- 9 On the tomb of Melisende, see Alberto Prodomo, "The Tomb of Queen Melisenda," in *New Discoveries at the Tomb of the Virgin Mary in Gethsemane*, ed. Bellarmino Bagatti, Michel Piccirillo, and Alberto Prodomo (Jerusalem: Franciscan, 1975), pp. 83–93. For a synthesis of the evidence and scholarship related to the tomb of Melisende, see Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1995), pp. 324–28. On the burial of other Latin queens, see Bernard Hamilton, "Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem," in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1978), pp. 143–74. On royal burial in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, see Gennaro Angelini, *Le tombe dei re latini a Gerusalemme* (Perugia: Unione cooperativa, 1902); Franz Dunkel, "Die Adamskapelle und die Gräber der lateinischen Könige Jerusalems," *Das Heilige Land* 50 (1906): 56–68; and Zehava Jacoby, "The Tomb of Baldwin v, King of Jerusalem (1185–1186) and the Workshop of the Temple Area," *Gesta* 18 (1979): 3–14. For a general discussion of burial in the Latin Kingdom, see Amit Reem, "Burial Customs in the Crusader Kingdom," in *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. Sylvia Rozenberg (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1999), pp. 293–97.
- 10 These tombs were destroyed by fire in the nineteenth century, but were sketched in the eighteenth century by Elzear Horn in *Ichnographiae monumentorum Terrae Sanctae, 1724–1744*, trans. Eugene Hoade with preface and notes by Bellarmino Bagatti (Jerusalem: Franciscan, 1962), figs. 7–10. For a reproduction of the sketch of Baldwin I's tomb in MS Vat. lat. 9233, see Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders*, pl. 4.19. Godfrey of Bouillon's comparable tomb is reproduced in Dunkel, "Die Adamskapelle," fig. 3 and Baldwin v's in Zehava Jacoby, "The Tomb of Baldwin v," fig. 1.
- 11 Josef Strzygowski, "Ruins of Tombs of the Latin Kings on the Haram in Jerusalem," *Speculum* 11 (1936): 499–508; Helmut Buschhausen, "Die süditalienische Bauplastik im Königreich Jerusalem von König Wilhelm II. bis Kaiser Friedrich II.," *Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 108 (1978): 154–77; Zehava Jacoby, "The Tomb of Baldwin v"; Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2010), 3:16–17 and 64–65; Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 37–40, 74–75, 114–15, 174, 186, 328, 461, 467–69.

The epitaph of Baldwin I's tomb, known from twelfth-century pilgrimage texts, declared him to be "an equal" of Judas Maccabeus, a regional hero who led an army against a second-century BCE enemy of the faith, who likewise instilled a "country" with hope and the infidel with fear. The English translation reads:

An equal here, King Baldwin lies,
 To Judas Maccabee. He dies
 His country's hope, the Church's pride,
 And still of both courageous guide.
 Kedar and Egypt feared his strength,
 Damascus, murderous town, at length
 And Dan to him the tribute gave.
 Now mourn that he's in this small grave!¹²

With the tomb of Baldwin I, then, ideas of kingship were formalized by way of the king's and Jesus' proximate burials, which implied their special closeness, and by way of a text that invoked comparison with a venerable local predecessor.

The calculations evident in this single royal tomb indicate that the Franks also put visual culture to use in declaring for a large and unrestricted audience the extent and justification of their rule—through references to the land's distinct history, distinct historical figures, and particular locales. The passage of time no less than the destructive end of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem has allowed frustratingly few public works of this kind to survive, and one cannot but wish for a richer and deeper political statement on a monumental scale to fill out and complicate this picture. Within this veritable void, however, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem offers some hope, even if it requires extensive interpretive work to yield up its ultimate significance. Indeed, the rituals once staged at this site, the royal funding associated with the site, and the mosaic program that once belonged to the site, now largely lost, suggest that its study will lead to a better appreciation of the role of art and architecture in the expression of power in the Latin Kingdom.

12 The translation is from John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1988), p. 284 and is based on Theoderic's *Description of the Holy Places*. The Latin reads, "REX BALDUINUS JUDAS ALTER MACHABAEUS/SPES PATRIAE, VIGOR ECCLESIAE, VIRTUS UTRIVSQUE:/QUEM FORMIDABANT QUI DONA FEREBANT/ CEDAR ET EGYPTUS, DAN AC HOMICIDA DAMASUCS/PROH DOLOR! IN MODICO CLAUDITUR HOC TUMULO." There are small differences in transcriptions of this epitaph. This one is Quaresmius,' on which see Dunkel, "Die Adamskapelle," 66.

2 Bethlehem's Tree of Jesse

The Crusaders took the city of Bethlehem in June of 1099, liberating, according to William of Tyre, a community of thankful Christians from Fatimid rule.¹³ In the months that followed, as more and more land was acquired and centralized secular and religious rule was established, Bethlehem became part of the official state—the already much-discussed Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. The first two kings of the Latin Kingdom, in fact, were crowned in Bethlehem's Church of St. Mary, which is today known as the Church of the Nativity.¹⁴ It seems a surprising act of hubris that these kings, Baldwin I and Baldwin II, were crowned in this church on Christmas Day (Baldwin I in 1100, Baldwin II in 1119).¹⁵ The date itself is unexceptional, belonging as it does to a longer tradition; in these instances, however, the king was not only crowned on the *day* of Jesus's birth but also at the site identified as the *place* of Jesus's birth. The implication on each occasion, of course, was that in this place and on this day two kings were revealed, a reading that finds support in each Baldwin's royal seal, which combines his effigy, an architectural rendering of the city from which he ruled, and a legend that reads "City of the King of All Kings."¹⁶ Although the coronation of this kingdom's rulers will eventually be transferred to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, in 1131, those of Baldwin I and Baldwin II underscore the potent and calculated ways in which the Church of the Nativity might have served a political agenda in the twelfth century.¹⁷ An inscription in the apse naming two Christian rulers as the patrons of its mosaic decoration, completed in 1169, suggests that, even after the relocation of rituals of state, its identification as a site of great political potential continued.

13 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis* 63 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1986), bk. 7 ch. 24. For an English translation, see William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and A.C. Krey, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia, 1943).

14 Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der Lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967): 150–54. Here Mayer also lays out possible reasons for Bethlehem's selection as the coronation church early on, which remain at the center of debate; see especially pages 151–52. See also Alan V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Dynastic History, 1099–1125* (Oxford: Prosopographica et Genealogica, 2000), pp. 94–97.

15 Baldwin II was elected king in 1118, however.

16 The Latin reads "CIVITAS REGIS REGUM OMNIUM." For a reproduction, see Eric McGeer, John Nesbitt, and Nicolas Oikonomides, eds., *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*. 6 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1991–2009), 5:19.1.

17 Mayer, "Das Pontifikale von Tyrus," 154–58.

As a monument commemorating the birth of Jesus that was built and then rebuilt during the reigns of celebrated rulers like Constantine in the fourth century and Justinian in the sixth, the Church of the Nativity is rich in previous scholarship.¹⁸ Architectural studies have addressed its original appearance and the date and form of subsequent modifications. Today's structure has thereby come into view as the artifact it is—a sixth-century basilica containing a trefoil east end, with revisions of the façade (which included the two blocked outer portals, the insertion of a pointed arch into the central portal, and the addition of bell towers to its northern and southern sides) and of the narthex vaulting.¹⁹ Decorative questions have likewise driven the study of this church, with similar objectives, namely the uncovering of its original appearance and the form and date of subsequent modifications.²⁰ The most important result of these scholarly contributions, in terms of the project at hand, is that they reveal the church's twelfth-century pictorial program, an operation that has been complicated by the existence of earlier decorative schemes, significant material loss, and layers of dark soot.²¹

Indeed, based on the careful examination of extant remains and descriptions, transcriptions, and drawings from better days, the mosaic interior of the

18 Pringle provides the best summary of previous scholarship in his *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 1:137–56.

19 For the twelfth-century changes, see R.W. Hamilton, *A Guide to Bethlehem* (Jerusalem: Azriel, 1939), 39. Pringle adds that Abbot Daniel, who visited in the early twelfth century (1106–1107), describes a church with three doors; that is, a pre-Frankish-changes structure (*The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 1:140). The most recent review of literature and its relationship to recent architectural and archaeological findings is Michele Bacci, Giovanna Bianchi, Stefano Campana, and Giuseppe Fichera, “Historical and archaeological analysis of the Church of the Nativity,” *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 13 (2012): 5–26.

20 Of the literature mentioned by Pringle in the Bethlehem entry of *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom* (vol. 1), Gustav Kühnel, “Neue Feldarbeiten zur musivischen und malerischen Ausstattung der Geburts-Basilika in Bethlehem,” *Kunstchronik* 37 (1984): 507–13; and Gustav Kühnel, “Das Ausschmückungsprogramm der Geburtsbasilika in Bethlehem: Byzanz und Abendland im Königreich Jerusalem,” *Boreas* 10 (1987): 133–49 are especially significant in this regard. An alternative dating of the program is found, for example, in Anton Baumstark, “Palaestinensia: Ein vorläufiger Bericht,” *Römische Quartalschrift* 29 (1906): 157–88; and Henri Stern, “Les représentations des conciles dans l'église de la Nativité à Bethlehem,” *Byzantion* 11 (1936): 101–52.

21 The soot has recently been removed. For a preliminary report on the conservation efforts, see Nicola Santopuoli, Elisabetta Concina, and Susanna Sarmati, “The Conservation of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the Preliminary Restoration Project of the Decorated Surfaces,” *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 13 (2012): 93–123. The mosaics were also cleaned in the 1980s, on which see G. Kühnel, “Neue Feldarbeiten” and “Das Ausschmückungsprogramm der Geburtsbasilika.”

Church of the Nativity can be more or less recreated.²² The flat and curved surfaces of the church's east end contained a very full rendering of the life of Jesus, including scenes particularly appropriate to the site, such as the Virgin and Christ Child enthroned, the Nativity, and the Adoration of the Magi (which are now completely lost), as well as primary and secondary scenes from Jesus' later life, such as the Transfiguration, the Entry into Jerusalem, and Doubting Thomas (for a plan of the church, see fig. 1.1). The lateral walls of the nave contained Church Council summaries, each of which was situated within a structural shell. These shells, furthermore, were divided by floral designs and bordered at top by a row of angels and at bottom by busts of Christ's ancestors. Finally, the west wall of the nave contained a large Tree of Jesse with branches populated by additional ancestors and prophets of Jesus' birth (for a view of the interior west wall as it appeared in 1975 and as it appears today, see fig. 1.2).²³ For all of its apparent variety, the program is striking for the way in which calculated placement and compelling gesture make its parts work together. The body of the church, with its Tree of Jesse and ancestor portraits, anticipates the coming of Christ, which had happened in the east end (technically, of course, in the crypt of the east end) and which was so elaborately pictured on its associated surfaces. What is more, the long angels of the clerestory point toward the Virgin and Child that once appeared in the apse and, thus, direct precisely this movement over the walls and call forth precisely this interpretation.

Each section of this program also has its own discrete layer of meaning. In the interest of brevity, the Church Council texts in the nave might be recalled, which are so different in their form and content from the other tessellated parts of the church and thus hint that something additional might be made of them. In terms of its size and non-narrative mode, the Tree of Jesse is also distinct. This subject so displayed marks it as an untapped resource for understanding

22 The content of the mosaic program, such as it appeared in the early seventeenth century, is best documented by Quaresmius, *Historica, theologica, et moralis Terrae Sanctae elucidatio*, ed. P. Cypriano de Tarvisio. 4 vols. (Venice: Antonelliana, 1881), 2:481–508. Joannis Ciampini sketched the north wall of the nave during his visit in the later seventeenth century; *De sacris aedificiis a Constantino Magno constructis: synopsis historica* (Rome: Giovanni Giacomo Komarek, 1693), ch. 26 pp. 150–62, pl. 33. The value of the information obtained from these sources, as well as additional primary sources, is comprehensively assessed in G. Kühnel, "Das Ausschmückungsprogramm der Geburtsbasilika." A chronological summary of pilgrimage texts that mention the site appears in William Harvey *et al.*, *The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem*, ed. R. Weir Schultz (London: Byzantine Research Fund, 1910), pp. 52–71.

23 G. Kühnel, "Das Ausschmückungsprogramm der Geburtsbasilika." For reproductions of this content, see Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 348–59, pls. 9.5–9.25.

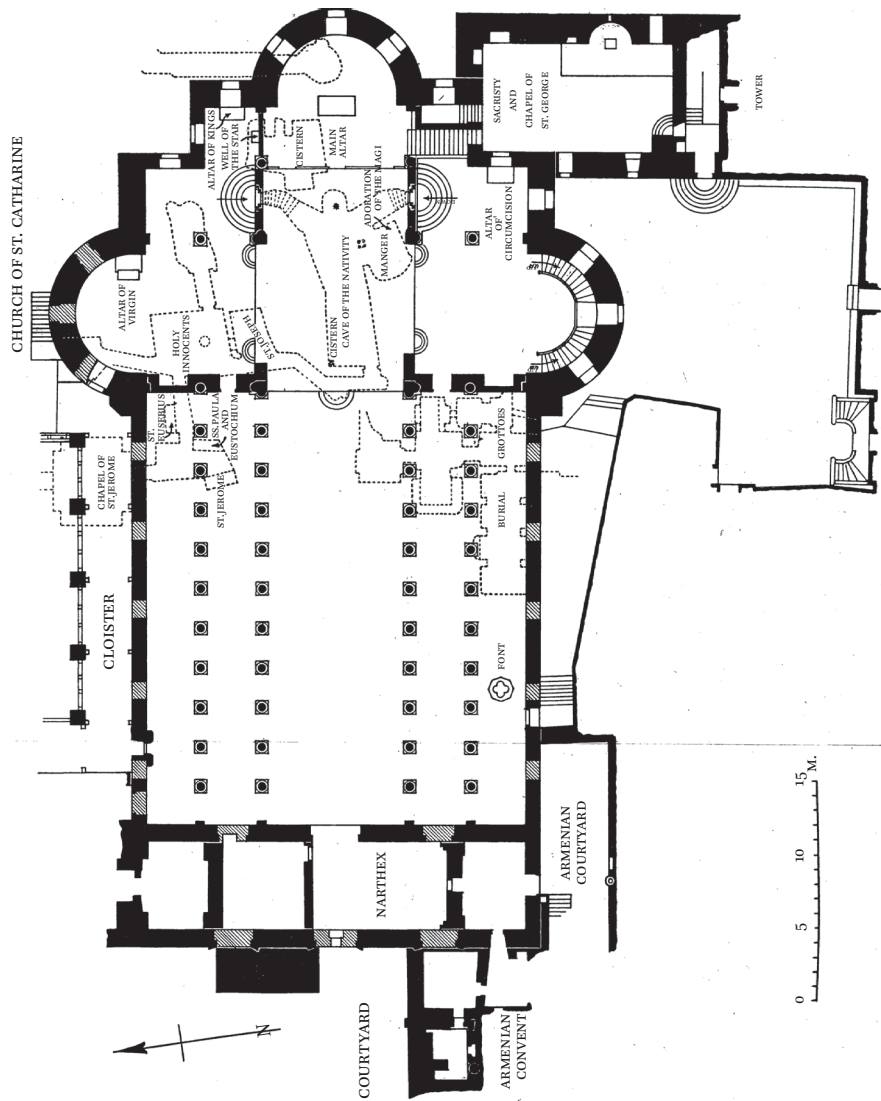


FIGURE 1.1 Plan of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem.
(AFTER R.W. HAMILTON, BETHLEHEM: A GUIDE [JERUSALEM: GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE, DEPT.
OF ANTIQUITIES, 1947], FIG. 8)



FIGURE 1.2 View of the interior west wall in 1975, Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem.
PHOTO COURTESY OF JAROSLAV FOLDA

visual expressions of rule in the Latin Kingdom in general and as the key to uncovering the political dimensions of this church in particular.

In previous scholarship, decorative questions have not, for the most part, extended to the Tree of Jesse. This is not surprising, given the difficulties of working with absence. Instead, in addition to the fundamental issues of program recreation described above, scholars have been inspired in different ways by the church's dedicatory inscription, a large section of which is still located in the apse (figs. 1.3 and 1.4). Written in both Latin and Greek, this inscription states that an artist named Ephraim completed the mosaic program in 1169 during the reigns of the Latin king, Amalric I, and the Byzantine emperor, Manuel Comnenus.

Latin:

King Amalric, guardian of virtue, generous friend, comrade of honor and foe
of impiety, patron of justice and piety, avenger of wrong, was fifth on the throne.

And over the Greeks ruled Manuel, generous donor and pious ruler. Here lived as

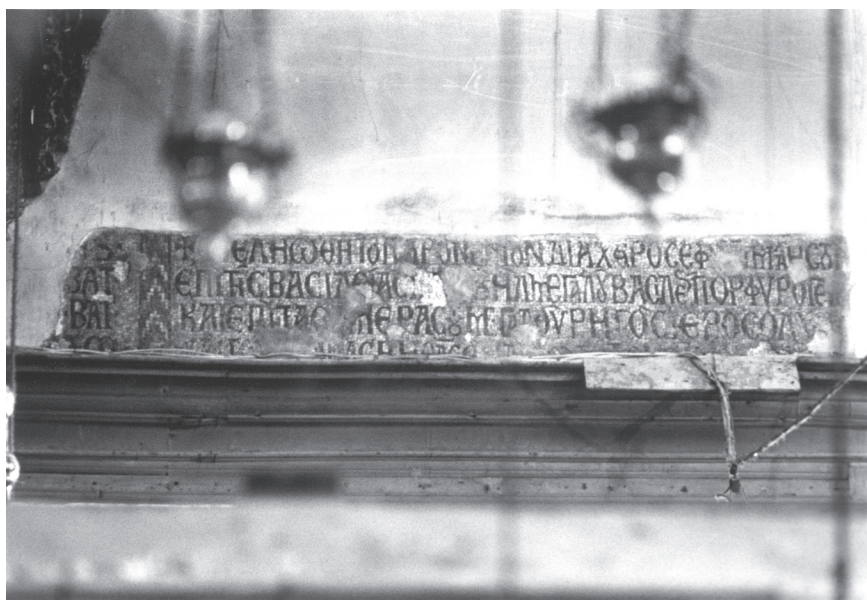


FIGURE 1.3 Dedicatory inscription in situ in 1975, bema, Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem.
(PHOTO COURTESY OF JAROSLAV FOLDA)

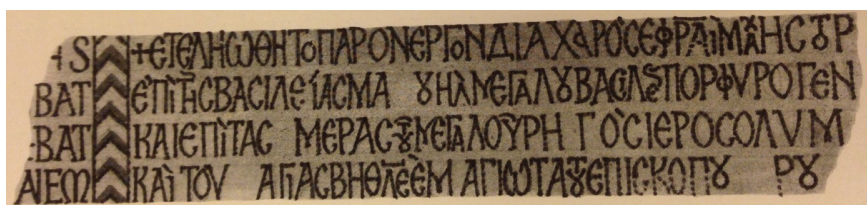


FIGURE 1.4 Full view of the dedicatory inscription, Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem.
(AFTER W. HARVEY ET AL, *THE CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY AT BETHLEHEM*.
EDITED BY R. WEIR SCHULTZ [LONDON, 1910], FIG. 27)

prelate and governor of the church, the generous Raoul, worthy of the bishop's throne. The hand of Ephraim made ... (final text missing).²⁴

²⁴ This translation is from Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders*, p. 350. He supplies the Latin here as well: "[REX AMALRICUS CUSTOS VIRTUTIS AMICUS LARGUS HONESTATIS COMES HOSTIS ET IMPIETA]TIS/ [IUSTICIE CULTOR PIETATIS CRIMINIS ULTOR QUINTUS REGNABAT ET GRECIS IMPERITA]BAT/ [EMMANUELQUE DATOR LARGUS PIUS IMPERATOR PRESUL VIVEVAT HIC ECCLESIAMQUE DOCE]BAT/ [PONTIFICUS DIGNUS RADULPHUS HONORE BENIGNUS CUM MANUS HIS EFFREM FERTUR FECISSE TU AU]TEM ..." The inscription was preserved in 1335 by Giacomo di Verona; see Reinhold

Greek:

The present work was finished by the hand of Ephraim the monk, painter and mosaicist, in the reign of the great emperor Manuel Porphyrogennetos Komnenos and in the time of the great king of Jerusalem, Amalric, and of the most holy bishop of holy Bethlehem, the Lord Raoul, in the year 6677, second indiction.²⁵

The reference to an artist, whose name encourages ascriptions of ethnicity, whose vocation as a monk is named, and whose abilities as an artist are itemized (as painter and mosaicist), has motivated scholars to focus on what this site reveals about artistic production in the Levant.²⁶ The reference to two rulers in the inscription has motivated scholars to investigate the extent to which the program is the result of a momentary political alliance between the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Byzantine Empire.²⁷ No matter the angle, the mention of Manuel's involvement in the creation of a pictorial program with heavy Byzantine leanings (in the layout of scenes, in details of iconography, in style, and in the mosaic art itself) has lead scholars to attribute the entire project to his design.²⁸ Twelfth-century Greek Orthodox visitors, such as John Phocas, did as well, finding within the mosaic portraits of the Byzantine emperor.²⁹

Röhrich, “Le pèlerinage du moine augustin Jacques de Verone (1335),” *Revue de l'orient latin* 3 (1895): 220.

25 This translation is from Anthony Cutler, “Ephraim, Mosaicist of Bethlehem: The Evidence from Jerusalem,” *Jewish Art* 12/13 (1986/1987): 179. He supplies the Greek as well: “Ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρὸν ἔργον διὰ χειρὸς Ἐφραίμ μοναχοῦ, ἱστορ[ιογράφου καὶ] μουσιτάτορος]/ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Μανουήλ μεγάλου Βασιλέως πορφυρογεν[νήτου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ]/ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ μεγάλου ῥήγος Ἱεροσολύμων, [κυροῦ (Ἀμμορί)]/ καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀγί(ας) Βηθλεέμ, ἀγιωτάτου [ἐ] ἐπισκόπου, κυροῦ [Ραουήλ] ἐν ἔτει ἑξῶς (sic) (ι)ν(δικτιῶνος) β ...” This inscription was preserved in 1182 “by or for” Gerasimos, Kathegoumenos of Nea Moni (179).

26 The best example of this is Hunt's “Art and Colonialism.” See also G. Kühnel, “Das Ausschmückungsprogramm der Geburtsbasilika”; Jaroslav Folda, “Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century: Reflections on Christian Multiculturalism in the Levant,” in *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. Benjamin Arbel (Portland: Taylor and Francis, 1996), 80–91 and *The Art of the Crusaders*, pp. 351–57.

27 For example, Hunt, “Art and Colonialism”; G. Kühnel, “Das Ausschmückungsprogramm der Geburtsbasilika”; and Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders*, p. 351.

28 In addition to the above, see Cutler, “Ephraim.”

29 John Phocas, “A General Description of the Settlements and Places Belonging to Syria and Phoenicia on the Way from Antioch to Jerusalem, and of the Holy Places of Palestine,” in Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, p. 333. Cutler (“Ephraim,” 182) discusses a similar statement made by Daniel of Ephesus (1493–1499) in his *Anonymou perigraphē ton Hagion Topon*, in *Archaia latinika, hellenika, rossika kai gallika tina hodoiporika*, ed. Kleopas

Indeed, the program in the Church of the Nativity was heavily Byzantine in precisely these terms. Yet it was not completely Byzantine. In the apse, for example, the Virgin and Child enthroned, a typical Byzantine subject for this area of the church, were atypically joined by Abraham and David. The life of Christ was inordinately long and detailed for a Byzantine life of Christ, betraying an interest in narrative that in other contexts is labeled a western enthusiasm.³⁰ Finally, the Tree of Jesse that once appeared on the interior of the west wall is, in Gustav Kühnel's words, "[of] purely western origin."³¹ Thus, in details, in extent, and in subjects, the mosaic program shows itself to be less Byzantine than it seems at first glance.

It is not only the Byzantine leanings of the program, however, that have put Manuel in the spotlight. It is also John Phocas' testimony that Manuel's likeness was part of the church's decoration. If pressed a bit, however, the full weight of this evidence might be better measured. Phocas was a monk and one-time soldier in the Byzantine army who visited the Holy Places around 1185.³² While there, he saw many depictions of Manuel that no longer exist, depictions not only in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem—"in several places, and even in the holy sanctuary"—but also in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.³³ The appearance of Manuel more than once in Bethlehem *and* in Jerusalem, hints at the desire of a loyal subject (Phocas) to see his ruler on the walls of Christianity's most important churches.³⁴ The specific issue of many Manuels in Bethlehem suggests specifically a misidentification of biblical rulers for a contemporary ruler. The biblical rulers represented at Bethlehem almost certainly appeared in Byzantine dress, as often in the Latin Kingdom. Indeed, King David in the apse with the enthroned Virgin and Christ Child might well be the Manuel "in the holy sanctuary" of which Phocas writes.

With these perhaps not completely determining arguments, the implications of a scenario that involves the Byzantine emperor controlling the decoration of the Church of the Nativity should be considered briefly. In point of fact, the Church of the Nativity was one of the most important churches in the

M. Koikylides and Ioannes Phokylides (Jerusalem: Koinou tou Panagiou Taphou, 1912), p. 529.

30 For example, William Tronzo, *The Cultures of His Kingdom: Roger II and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1997).

31 "rein westlicher Herkunft"; G. Kühnel, "Das Ausschmückungsprogramm der Geburtsbasilika," 140.

32 This date is from Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, pp. 22–23; others give 1177.

33 Phocas, "A General Description," in Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, p. 333.

34 Henry Maguire discusses the reliance of Phocas on earlier writers and so calls into question the text's value as a first-hand account; "Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974): 116.

Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem—not only a top-tier *locus sanctus*, but also the site of the kingdom’s first coronations, as already mentioned, and, under Latin rule, the seat of one of its bishops. It is, then, difficult to imagine that Manuel determined this church’s mosaic program, even if a commitment to the Holy Places lead to his financial and material support.³⁵ Annemarie Weyl Carr has argued that he supplied significant resources for the Frankish Church of the Hospital of St. John in Abu Ghosh without dictating its content.³⁶ We might imagine such a scenario in the case of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.

While the non-Byzantine elements of this program, the tenuous status of Phocas’s Manuel portraits, and the importance of the Church of the Nativity within the realm allow one to question the certainty with which this program has been attributed to Manuel, there are also aspects of the program that speak *for* the weightier involvement of the Latin king, Amalric, and the Frankish agenda he might represent. One such aspect lies in the dedicatory inscription. As mentioned earlier, this dedication is written in both Latin and Greek; the Latin dedication and the Greek dedication stood side by side, as if their content were identical (figs. 1.3 and 1.4). It is not. In the Latin inscription, Amalric is mentioned first and is excessively praised as a “guardian of virtue, generous friend, comrade of honor and foe of impiety, patron of justice and piety, [and] avenger of wrong ...”; Manuel is mentioned second and is praised with a pithier “generous donor and pious ruler.” In the Greek, which one might imagine was intended for a Greek-speaking audience, and so for Manuel himself, the Byzantine emperor fares no better, being identified simply as “the great emperor Manuel.” The difference is not so subtle that this is the first time it has been noticed. Indeed, back in 1914 Louis-Hugues Vincent and Felix-Marie Abel suggested the same thing.³⁷ It has been minimized by scholars, however, who gesture toward a larger field of bilingual inscriptions in the region, wherein differences in content correspond with differences in dedicatory traditions that are language-specific.³⁸ A representative example of this is found in the Church of the Nativity itself: its thirteenth-century door contains an inscription in Armenian

35 On the elevation of Bethlehem to a bishopric, see Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 1:138.

36 Annemarie Weyl Carr, “The Mural Paintings of Abu Ghosh and the Patronage of Manuel Comnenus in the Holy Land,” in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Jaroslav Folda (Jerusalem: British Archaeological Reports, 1982), pp. 215–34; although making a significantly different argument, Cutler also asserts that the skill and resources needed to complete the Bethlehem project could only have come from Constantinople (“Ephraim,” 183).

37 Vincent and Abel, *Bethléem: Le sanctuaire de la Nativité* (Paris, 1914), p. 159.

38 Cutler, “Ephraim.” On bilingual inscriptions in the region, see Denys Pringle, “Church-Building in Palestine before the Crusades,” in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Folda, pp. 5–46.

that reads, “In the year 676 was finished the door of the Holy Mother of God, by the hands of Father Abraham and Father Arakel, at the time of the Armenian King Hetum, Son of Constantin. Christ God, have mercy upon the laborers!” and another in Arabic that reads, “This door was completed by the help of God, may he be exalted! In the days our Lord the Sultan King el-Mu’addam in the month of Moharram. Year six hundred and four and twenty.”³⁹ In this case, as often, differences lie in the individuals mentioned and matters affecting date alone.

The foregoing depicts a comprehensive picture of the Church of the Nativity in the twelfth century, consisting in general of new architectural and decorative elements, even if “new” to radically different extents, and in particular of a program defined by careful calculation. Moreover, it establishes grounds for a reconsideration of Amalric’s role in affecting pictorial content here. This work is the basis for what follows, which advocates that the Church of the Nativity be seen in terms of the larger context of construction that belonged to the Latin Kingdom and argues that the church’s Frankish political commitments are made manifest on its walls.

Despite the fact that Manuel has been credited with the design of the Church of the Nativity’s interior, it is the Franks that have always been credited with the site’s architectural modifications. Such construction fits within a larger twelfth-century (and indeed thirteenth-century) Frankish commitment to strategically rooting their power to this place. This commitment can be seen in the integration of ritual and topography, such as that evident in Baldwin I’s and Baldwin II’s coronation, to cite examples at hand and remembering especially the ceremony’s potent union of date and location.⁴⁰ This commitment to strategically rooting power to this place can also be seen in the enthusiasm with which the Franks built, re-built, and renovated churches. Denys Pringle has numbered these material interventions at more than four hundred (albeit over the two hundred years of Latin settlement), which Joshua Prawer has

39 Harvey, *et al.*, *The Church of the Nativity*, p. 4. The original Armenian and Arabic texts are not provided.

40 Mayer, “Das Pontifikale von Tyrus,” 150–70; and Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, “Symbolic Meaning in Crusader Architecture: The Twelfth-Century Dome of the Holy Sepulcher Church in Jerusalem,” *Cahiers Archeologiques* 33 (1985): 109–17, esp. 114. In “Das Pontifikale von Tyrus,” Mayer discussed Baldwin I’s early use of the title “Rex Iudee et Iherusalem ac defensor sanctissimi sepulchri” (151), which would further underline the strategic use of place proposed here, but he has since determined the document on which this title appears to be a fake (Hans Eberhard Mayer, ed., *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*. 4 vols. [Hanover: Hahn, 2010], 1:137). I thank an anonymous reader for pointing this out.

declared excessive for even the most pious population.⁴¹ It is also, of course, a commitment already observed in Baldwin I's tomb, where text makes what is implied by rituals and monumental architecture explicit. In the light of such projects, the conversion of the Church of the Nativity's central portal into a pointed arch during the twelfth century might be interpreted as a cosmetic modification signaling the church's participation in a new Frankish regime.⁴² This is not to say that the pointed arch belonged exclusively to the Franks, of course. But after the Mamluk conquest of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the thirteenth century, a pointed arch was moved from a Frankish church in Acre all the way to Cairo, where it was reused in Sultan al-Nasir's madrasa, a task sufficiently difficult to suggest that the association between form (the pointed arch) and identity (the Franks) was established and could be put to strategic use.⁴³ Finally, the bell towers that were added to the façade of this church, as they were added to many Frankish churches, might be recognized for their aural effect, and thus for the way in which clarion sound complemented material presence. The extensive building and restoration of churches that was carried out by the Franks is generally ascribed to a singular desire—to commemorate and protect *loca sancta*.⁴⁴ But there can be little doubt that

41 Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 11; and Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), p. 461.

42 For a reproduction of the pointed arch, see Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 1140, fig. 85. The arch was reduced to a much smaller post and lintel entrance during the Ottoman period.

43 Jaroslav Folda provides a good discussion on the uncertain specific origin of this portal in *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2005), p. 673 n. 70. See also Camille Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem: Architecture religieuse et civile*. 2 vols. (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1925–1928), 2:15–23; Bernard Dichter, *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre* (Acre: Municipality of Acre, 1979), p. 61; Zehava Jacoby, "Crusader Sculpture in Cairo: Additional Evidence on the Temple Area Workshop of Jerusalem," in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Folda, pp. 121–38; K.A.C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*. 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University, 1952–1959), 2:234–35; and Maria Georgopoulou, "The Artistic World of the Crusaders and Oriental Christians in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Gesta* 43 (2004): 115–28, esp. 119–20.

44 See, for example, Meir Ben-Dov, "Churches in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *Knights of the Holy Land*, ed. Rozenberg, pp. 82–93; and Adrian J. Boas' eminently valuable synthesis of Frankish archaeological and art historical remains, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 123. I am not, of course, the first to point to other reasons for building. See, for example, Robert Ousterhout, "The French Connection? Construction of Vaults and Cultural Identity in Crusader Architecture," in *France and the Holy Land*, ed. Weiss and Mahoney, pp. 77–94 and Georgopoulou, "The Artistic World of the Crusaders."

these stone structures were burdened with the additional mandate of establishing and perpetuating rule.

It is now possible to return to the interior of the Church of the Nativity, with the proposition that the meanings of the architectural modifications that make it part of this larger project might reasonably be transferred to its decoration. This proposal finds support in the text of the mosaics. Indeed, text here does two things. On the one hand, it suggests distinct extra- and intramural audiences; on the other hand, it announces authority.

The key to understanding the role of text in this building is found in the nave and, more specifically, in the Church Council summaries that once dominated its horizontal surfaces.⁴⁵ These summaries were arranged more or less chronologically, with those belonging to provincial councils on the north and those belonging to ecumenical councils on the south. Each of the texts named the place where the council was held, the number of fathers present, the heretics who occasioned the meeting, the name of the emperor who convened the meeting, the resulting doctrine declared, and the heretics condemned. And each of the texts was in Greek with the exception of that nearest the western entrance of the church. That text, now lost, was in Latin and summarized the findings of the Second Council of Nicaea.⁴⁶

The singular use of Latin in the case of the Second Council of Nicaea indicates that it had a special status. Indeed, with the exception of the other council summaries, the predominant language on this church's walls was Latin: where still extant and where no longer extant but noted by earlier visitors, it was this language that named every portrait and every scene. The predominance of Latin in this space is particularly interesting in light of Christopher MacEvitt's work on the relationship between the Franks and the indigenous Christian communities of the Levant. Against assumptions that issues of doctrinal difference separated and thereby distinguished these groups, MacEvitt has shown that language was the primary marker of difference, and that this difference did not correspond to doctrinal divisions. Rather than labels such as "Melkites" or "Jacobites," for example, the Franks used "Graeci" or "Suriani."⁴⁷ This phenomenon reveals an environment where language was conspicuous

45 Henri Stern provides a full treatment of these Councils in his, "Les représentations des conciles dans l'église de la Nativité à Bethlehem," 2ème partie, "Les inscriptions," *Byzantion* 13 (1938): 415–59.

46 For the Greek and Latin texts as they appeared in the seventeenth century, see Quaresmius, *Historica, theologica, et moralis*, 2:487–506; the Latin Council of Nicaea is transcribed on 2:504.

47 Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2008), p. 102.

and where, more important yet, certain languages could and did become synonymous with whole groups of people. In returning to the function of text on the walls of the Church of the Nativity, we should consider the fact that the languages of the immediate area—Latin, Greek, Arabic, Syriac—had unique alphabets. If we do, we realize that text here had a rare pictorial potential. Even though the majority of the nave councils were in Greek, the thoroughgoing presence of Latin in the Church of the Nativity, then, must have identified it as a site in the control of the Franks, or rather a people who used Latin (or a language that looked like Latin).

The expression of Frankish power within this mosaic program, however, is perhaps nowhere stronger than it is in the Tree of Jesse, which can be recreated based on description, transcription, and contemporary comparanda. The existence of a large Tree of Jesse on the church's interior west wall is mentioned by travelers to Bethlehem as early as the fourteenth century (fig. 1.2).⁴⁸ Quaresmius, a seventeenth-century Franciscan pilgrim, however, provides us with its fullest description. From him it becomes clear that the remains of this Tree included “in eius ramis Prophetæ cum suis de Christo Prophetiis”: the prophets in the branches in the seventeenth century were Joel, Amos, Nahum, Ezekiel, Isaiah, Balaam, and Micah, identified as such by “their prophecies of Christ” and sometimes still by name.⁴⁹

By the twelfth century, the century to which this mosaic program belongs, the Tree of Jesse was a popular subject in the West.⁵⁰ The particular details of Bethlehem's Tree invite comparison with two specific and slightly earlier Trees of Jesse in France, which were likewise located prominently in church interiors.⁵¹ One of these Trees is the subject of a stained glass window from the east end of the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis in Paris, the other is a stained glass window from the west end of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Chartres,

48 Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'oltramare*. 2 vols. (Bologna: Romagnoli, 1881), 1:219–20, esp. 1:219. Niccolò traveled to the Holy Land between 1345 and 1350.

49 The Latin is from Sabino de Sandoli's edition of Quaresmius, which is an excerpted text that has also been translated into Italian; Quaresmius, *Elucidatio Terræ Sanctæ*, ed. Sabino de Sandoli (Jerusalem: Franciscan, 1989), p. 314; transcriptions of preserved text can be found on pp. 314–17.

50 The most comprehensive treatment of the Tree of Jesse is still Arthur Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (London: Oxford University, 1934). For the Tree of Jesse in the Byzantine artistic tradition, see Vesna Milanović, “The Tree of Jesse in the Byzantine Mural Painting of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: A Contribution to the Research of the Theme,” *Zograf* 20 (1989): 48–59.

51 As two of the earliest representations of the Tree of Jesse, this comparison is often made; see G. Kühnel, “Das Ausschmückungsprogramm der Geburtsbasilika,” 140; and Hunt, “Art and Colonialism,” 80.

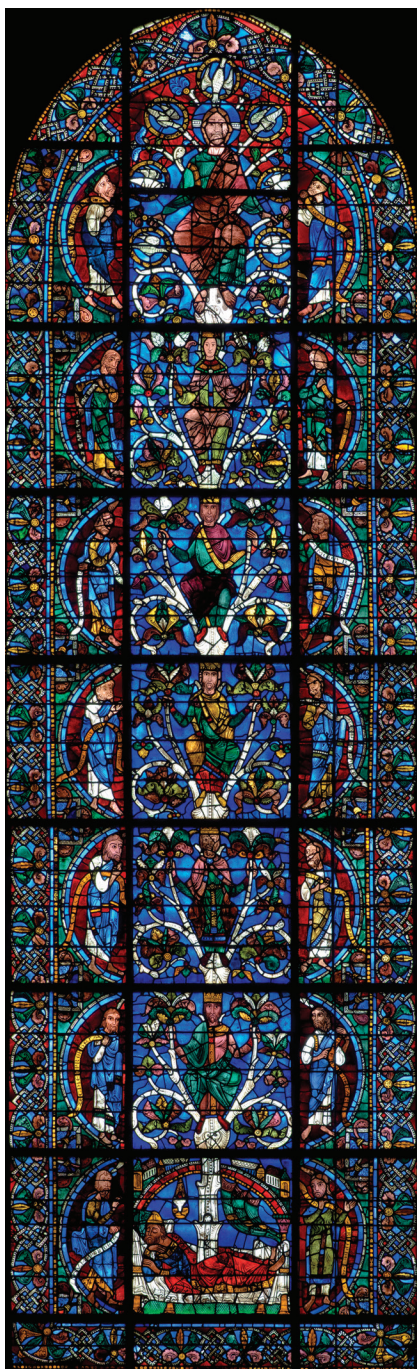


FIGURE 1.5
Tree of Jesse, Cathedral of Notre Dame,
Chartres
(PHOTO COURTESY OF STUART WHATLING).

both dated between 1140 and 1150 (for the Chartres example, see fig. 1.5). These Trees consist of a recumbent Jesse, who is pictured metaphorically as the root system for the tree in question. Similarly, Old Testament rulers such as David and Solomon are pictured as the trunk, Mary and Jesus as the apex, and the branches to the left and right as prophets. The same content can be assumed for Bethlehem's. The Tree of Jesse in general was inspired by the messianic prophecy of Isaiah, who says, "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse" (Isaiah 11:1), to which additional prophecies and a royal genealogy were attached.⁵² As a composite, this Tree established the providential character of Jesus' birth as well as his royal bloodline. Such a subject was perfectly suited to this site, not only because it alluded to Jesus' birth, but also because Bethlehem was the birthplace of Jesse. Furthermore, it was perfectly suited to this site because Bethlehem was the birthplace of David. And it is this register of significance that should be emphasized, as an important refinement of looser associations that have been made between the Tree of Jesse and its embodiment of the "continuity and sanctity of kingship."⁵³ The fact that the biblical figure of David centrally motivated the inclusion of the Tree of Jesse within the mosaic program of the Church of the Nativity is strongly suggested by his strange and thus emphatic reappearance in the apse, indeed directly across the long basilical hall.

In the West, the Tree of Jesse was associated with royal contexts early on, especially when marked by excessive size, prominence, and expense, as at Chartres and Saint-Denis. The conspicuousness of the biblical rulers, in the center of the image, and the costume of the biblical rulers, invariably identical with the costume of contemporary rulers, allowed these royal figures to appear not only as ancestors of Mary and of Jesus, but of the kings that shared their ecclesiastical space.⁵⁴ Given this contemporary and popular employment of the Tree of Jesse, it is reasonable to conclude that it functioned in just this way at the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, where the Latin kings had once been crowned and which was the focus of a new mosaic program under the Latin king Amalric. The location of the Tree of Jesse on the Church of the Nativity's west wall recommends this conclusion as well. Indeed, during the Middle Ages, the west wall became *the* location for making explicit statements about the king and kingship. This is seen in churches from the middle of the

52 James R. Johnson, "The Tree of Jesse Window of Chartres: *Laudes Regiae*," *Speculum* 36 (1961): 1.

53 Hunt, "Art and Colonialism," 80.

54 On this, see Johnson, "The Tree of Jesse."

thirteenth-century, such as the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Reims, where an elaborate “Mirror of Princes” modeled the role of and expectations for its king, as Donna L. Sadler has shown.⁵⁵ It is also seen at Chartres, where the subject, of course, is the Tree of Jesse. In the Church of the Nativity, the west wall must have been an ideal location for statements related to kingship, far away from the special sanctity of the east end and in a kind of liminal space belonging to the church’s exit. In such a location, it prepared its audience to move from a space “ruled” by Christ—to recall his title as the “King of Kings” and his enthroned image in the apse—to a space ruled by the king of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. And it reminded the king himself, when present, that he had many past paradigms of pious rule to guide him.⁵⁶

Christ’s “King of Kings” title brings us conveniently back to the seals mentioned at this section’s outset and their usefully ambivalent legend, the “City of the King of Kings.” This legend, employed not only by Baldwin I and Baldwin II but by all the Frankish kings, referred strictly to Jesus, of course, but it referred figuratively to the Frankish ruler pictured in effigy on the seal’s obverse as well. In so doing, it made a connection between the city’s contemporary kings and its biblical Judean kings explicit. Its elision of past and present rulers and a past and present place highlights the particular significance of these biblical kings for the rulers of the Latin Kingdom. Indeed, it seems especially important to differentiate the use of the past here from uses of the past elsewhere, for potent invocations of Old Testament kings like David and Solomon had a long history in Christendom. The creators of royal seals and Bethlehem’s Tree seem not to have looked to the bible out of habit, but rather out of a renewed appreciation for its autochthonous parities. In the end, this is what distinguishes the ideology of kingship in the Latin Kingdom and its visual expression. During the twelfth century, the first century of the Latin Kingdom, these statements did not simply announce presence and lay claim to land. They fabricated through pictorial argument a historical relationship to the Levant, and they fabricated belonging. The Tree of Jesse in the Church of the Nativity was carefully, unavoidably positioned to do this for all who entered—or rather exited—its sacred precinct, not unlike the Stele of Naram-Sin in Shamash’s temple complex, to return to the beginning.

55 Donna L. Sadler, *Reading The Reverse Façade of Reims Cathedral: Royalty and Ritual in Thirteenth-Century France* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), especially pp. 119–59.

56 Mayer, “Das Pontifikale von Tyrus,” 152.

3 Conclusion

The references to rulership with which this essay began—in the Melisende Psalter book covers, William of Tyre’s *Histoire d’Outremer*, royal seals, and the tomb of Baldwin I—demonstrated a calculated presentation of rule within the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Of these, only one, the tomb of Baldwin I, set itself apart as proof that visual culture was manipulated in the service of a larger political agenda with an emphatically unrestricted audience. That political agenda has now acquired identifiable characteristics, the embedding of rule within this particular place, whether by invoking local historical and biblical events, local historical and biblical figures, or local geography. Just how well orchestrated was this plan is evident in the prominent role played by the unconventional hero Judas Maccabeus, a leader who had vanquished enemies of the faith in the very lands now occupied by the Franks. While all of these pieces can be read as component parts of a political message crafted to create a very special kind of foundation, it is certainly the public works that were charged with its fullest articulation and its widest dissemination. Having considered its subject, its iconography, its setting, its location, and its patronage, the Tree of Jesse in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem helps us see this dynamic more clearly.

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Signs of Leadership: Buildings of Jerusalem in a Crusader Relief

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At some point in the second half of the twelfth century, a sculptor carved a square pilaster showing three Jerusalem buildings in relief on one of its four sides. The patron likely placed the relief in a Christian monument in that same holy city, which crusading European Christians conquered in 1099. The European Christians, also called the Franks, used Jerusalem as the capital of their Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem to 1187 (Fig. 2.1), losing control of much of their Levantine kingdom in that year to Salah al-Din Yusuf ibn al-Ayyubi (1138–93), Ayyubid Sultan of Egypt and Syria. They moved their capital then to Acre, which they held until 1291. Sometime after 1187, an unknown individual took the pilaster from the Levant and shipped it to Cairo. A Mamluk sultan, al-Nasir Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Qalawun (or Sultan Hasan, 1335–61, r. 1347–51 and 1354–61), then reused the pilaster in the portal of his mid-fourteenth-century complex, which housed a mosque, madrasa, mausoleum, and hospital (beg. 1356).¹ This study attempts to return this architectural-themed pilaster, which is a rarity within the Levantine and European medieval sculptural traditions from which it stems, to its original context, suggesting new perspectives on architecture and on political and religious relations in Frankish Jerusalem.²

Borrowing from an approach used by Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, this study's premise is that the Jerusalemite pilaster, a small architectural piece arguably marginal in original function or placement, was central in meaning to its monument and patrons.³ In order to propose a likely answer to the questions

1 While the possible reasons for the movement of this Frankish architectural pilaster and the Mamluk patron's inclusion of it in his Cairene complex are intriguing, I address those issues in another article, Cathleen A. Fleck, "Crusader Spolia in Medieval Cairo. The Portal of the Complex of Sultan Ḥasan," *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 1, no. 2 (2014): 249–300.

2 See John Renard, "Picturing Holy Places: On the Uses of Architectural Themes in Ornament and Icon," *Religion and the Arts* 5, no. 4 (2001): 399–428.

3 Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, *Marginal Sculpture in Medieval France: Towards the Deciphering of an Enigmatic Pictorial Language* (Brookfield, VT, 1995), 5. Compare Gil Fishhof, "Reconsidering the Sculptural Program of Saint-Gilles-Du-Gard: The Role and Meaning of Its Bases



FIGURE 2.1 Right Jerusalem-themed pilaster, ca. 1187, façade, Complex of Sultan Hasan, ca. 1356–63, Cairo.
(PHOTO: CATHLEEN A. FLECK)

of when, of where, for what building, and for whom the Jerusalemite pilaster was first made, it is necessary to search widely for comparisons because so little artistic evidence from the Frankish kingdom remains intact. An initial description of the pilaster and the related scholarship will begin the article, followed by a discussion of the evidence regarding the Jerusalemite pilaster's date and place of production. Next, this study will argue for the original placement of the Jerusalemite pilaster based on comparative material from the Levant and Europe in contemporary monuments. My conclusions will be grounded on the implication of the three sets of buildings together on the pilaster, attempting to answer the questions of how and why their combination calls attention to strategic political and religious connections among the sites portrayed.

1 The Background

The Jerusalemite pilaster's current placement in Sultan Hasan's Cairene complex is a necessary frame of reference for our understanding of the pilaster. Its location, placed at the right side of the highly visible juncture of the complex's main exterior façade wall and the entry foyer, only allows viewing of three of its four sides.⁴ The side of the pilaster (perpendicular to the façade wall) that is the focus here contains arched frames with three reliefs of Jerusalem buildings, alternating vertically with empty rectangular surfaces (Fig. 2.1), and faces towards the center of the entrance.⁵ This pilaster also includes a foliate interlace pattern on its side facing outward (aligned with the façade) and on its opposite side now facing the building (and barely visible), suggesting that once at least three sides were in view. The fourth side (opposite the architectural relief side) is currently not visible at all because of its attachment to the side of the façade wall. Logically, if the piece has four sides of embellishment, the sculptors likely

and Socles," in *Pictorial Languages and Their Meanings: Liber Amicorum in Honor of Nurith Kenaan-Kedar*, ed. Christine Verzar and Gil Fishhof (Tel Aviv, 2006), 93–118.

4 See Abdallah Kahil, *The Sultan Hasan Complex in Cairo 1357–1364. A Case Study in the Formation of Mamluk Style*, ed. Orient-Institut Beirut, *Beiruter Texte und Studien* 98 (Beirut, 2008), 81. See also Hana Taragan, "The Image of the Dome of the Rock in Cairene Mamluk Architecture," *Jewish Art* 23/24 (1997/98): 453–59; and Zehava Jacoby, "Crusader Sculpture in Cairo: Additional Evidence on the Temple Area Workshop of Jerusalem," in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Jaroslav Folda, *Bar International Series* 152 (Oxford, 1982), 123–25.

5 *Ibid.*, 121–38. In the interest of brevity, this article will only focus on the reliefs and not elaborate on the possibilities for the empty surfaces. The author will address these details in future publications.

intended it to be seen in the round; if the piece has three sides of ornament, which are perceptible now, then the sculptors likely intended it to be engaged.

The most elaborate of the three visible sides of this pilaster is the architectural-themed surface (Fig. 2.1). A significant source of comparison for the



FIGURE 2.2 Map of Jerusalem, Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, ms. 437, fol. 1r, ca. 1170 (Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale).

buildings in its three frames is the Cambrai map of ca. 1170 (Map of Jerusalem, in a manuscript with a Gradual fragment; *Exposition in libros Regum* by Angelomus Luxoviensis; and *Expositio in Tobiam* by Beda Venerabilis, Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, MS 466 (437), fol. 1r, circa 1170) (Fig. 2.2). It includes inscriptions and many details of the cityscape to suggest that its European creator had specific topographical knowledge of Jerusalem, including the Frankish changes to the city in the twelfth century.⁶ The map will offer important evidence below to confirm the identity of the buildings on the pilaster.⁷

The top left segment of the uppermost frame is missing, leaving discernible the right side of a dome resting on a two-level arcaded lower structure (Fig. 2.3). The relief seems to represent the most important Christian monument, the Anastasis rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.⁸ This domed structure was originally a fourth-century monument placed over the purported site of Christ's burial and resurrection. After Fatimid caliph al-Hakim's (r. 996–1021) destruction of the site, various Byzantine emperors financed its reconstruction by 1048; the Franks restored it in the 1140s–1150s to the form that is seen in this relief.⁹ The interior view of the lower two-story arcade that supports the rotunda and the exterior view of the conical dome,

6 See Dan Bahat and Chaim T. Rubinstein, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem*, trans. Shlomo Ketko (New York, 1990), 102; Rehav Rubin, *Image and Reality. Jerusalem in Maps and Views*, eds. Yehoshua Ben-Arieh and Ruth Kark, *Israel Studies in Historical Geography* (Jerusalem, 1999), 33; Milka Levy-Rubin, "The Crusader Maps of Jerusalem," in *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. Silvia Rozenberg (Jerusalem, 1999), 231, 237; and Hannah Vorholt, "Herrschaft über Jerusalem und die Kartographie der Heiligen Stadt," in *Herrschaft Verorten: Politische Kartographie im Mittelalter und in Der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Ingrid Baumgärtner and Martina Stercken (Zurich: Chronos Verlag, 2012), 212, 222–24. Likely the volume was prepared in the region of Cambrai. The map's placement in a volume just after commentaries on Old Testament texts suggests that, in the minds of its European viewers, the holy city—and the Frankish Christian additions—were central to salvation history. See *ibid.*, 227–28.

7 Scholars consider this map as a reliable representation of certain Holy Land sites, in particular of the Holy Sepulcher monument. See Ronnie Ellenblum, "Frankish Castles, Muslim Castles, and the Medieval Citadel of Jerusalem," in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani. Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, eds. Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot, UK, 2007), 107–08; Adrian J. Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades. Society, Landscape and Art in the Holy City under Frankish Rule* (London, 2001), 81; and Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land 1098–1187* (Cambridge, 1995), 294.

8 Jacoby, "Crusader Sculpture in Cairo," 124–25; Robert Ousterhout, "Rebuilding the Temple: Constantine Monomachus and the Holy Sepulchre," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48 (1989): 66–78; and Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, 203–04, 335, 534 n. 23.

9 See Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corpus. III*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 2007), 10–12, 19–22. On the Holy Sepulcher complex and its meaning to Crusaders, see Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, 177–245, and *Crusader Art* (Aldershot, 2008), 38–44.



FIGURE 2.3 Detail of the top frame with the Holy Sepulcher from the right Jerusalemite pilaster, ca. 1187, Complex of Sultan Hasan, Cairo.

(PHOTO: CATHLEEN A. FLECK)

represented by angled lines that descend downward from an oculus opening at the top, are perceptible simultaneously.¹⁰ The visitor Theoderic in 1172

¹⁰ Jacoby, "Crusader Sculpture in Cairo," 125. For contemporary descriptions of the structure, see Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 111, 22–26.

describes the two levels of alternating pillars and columns that support the walls and also notes the “leaded roof, supported on a rafted ceiling ... of cypress wood and having at the top a large round hole”.¹¹ A similar interior/exterior view¹² of the Anastasis rotunda is found in the Cambrai map (Fig. 2.2).¹³

The middle architectural frame on the pilaster depicts a domed structure with a gabled porch and three levels of arched openings: to the sides of the doors, around the top edge of the building facade, and around the drum of the dome (Fig. 2.4). Scholars unequivocally identify this structure as the Dome of the Rock (Fig. 2.5), which dates to approximately 692.¹⁴ To Jews, the Dome of the Rock marked the location of Abraham’s offering of his son Isaac to God. To Jews, Christians, and Muslims, it stood at the spot of Solomon’s Temple from the Hebrew Bible.¹⁵ Medieval misconceptions of the Dome of the Rock as either the Jewish Temple associated with Christ’s life or as a later Byzantine structure honoring the Jewish Temple and sites of Christ’s life led Latin Franks to consider the Dome of the Rock to be in a similar form and the same position as the original Temple, in part ignoring its Muslim history.¹⁶ Instead they called it the Temple of the Lord or the *Templum Domini*, dedicating it as a Christian church in 1141.¹⁷ The Cambrai map (Fig. 2.2) depicts an analogous building, labeled “*Templum Domini*,” with three small attached structures representing the four entrance porches and a dome with a lantern containing openings. The pilaster relief is nearer to the actual building of the Dome of the Rock in appearance, seemingly displaying one of the outer eight faces of the octagonal structure, with columns supporting a canopy over the door, arched recesses on either side of the door, a decorative cornice above the door, and a dome resting on a drum (which includes alternating recesses around its surface too). John of Wurzburg, a visitor in circa 1165, explains the look of the

11 In *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, III, 25.

12 Compare the coins of Amaury I or the view of the interior by B. Amico from 1610 (in a treatise on the holy sites written for Philip III of Spain), Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, 335–36, plates 9.1 and 9.2. The current rounded dome dates to 1808, Bahat and Rubinstein, *Atlas of Jerusalem*, 95. See also Roberto Pesant, C.J. Sabine, and D.M. Metcalf, “The ‘Amalricus’ Coins of the Kingdom of Jerusalem,” in *Coinage in the Latin East*, ed. P.W. Edbury and D.M. Metcalf, The Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History (Oxford, 1980), 106–07.

13 See Jacoby, “Crusader Sculpture in Cairo,” 124–25. On a similar interior/exterior view, see Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, 335–37.

14 See Jacoby, “Crusader Sculpture in Cairo,” 124; Taragan, “Image of the Dome,” 453.

15 For an overview of the sanctity of Jerusalem in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam from ancient to modern times, see Francis E. Peters, “The Holy Places,” in *City of the Great King: Jerusalem from David to the Present*, ed. Nina Rosovsky (Cambridge, MA, 1996), 37–54.

16 Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, III, 400–05.

17 See Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, 249–51; Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, III, 401–03.



FIGURE 2.4 Detail of the middle frame with the Dome of the Rock from the right Jerusalem-themed pilaster, ca. 1187, Complex of Sultan Hasan, Cairo.
(PHOTO: CATHLEEN A. FLECK)

building in his day: "The Temple of the Lord, built up inside and outside by whomsoever with a wonderful marble facing, has the form of a symmetrical rotunda, or rather of a rounded octagon ... Its wall is adorned on the outside with finest mosaic work to mid height ... [and] the lower wall ... is interrupted by four portals."¹⁸ He describes also the porches at each of the entrances with

¹⁸ Ibid., 405.



FIGURE 2.5 Dome of the Rock, al-Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem, ca. 692.
(PHOTO: CATHLEEN A. FLECK)

two flanking windows on the sides and a level of smaller windows above, quite like the building as it appears in the relief.¹⁹

The bottom relief on the architectural face of the pilaster (Fig. 2.6) represents four structures: a crenellated tower of four levels in the center back with two other crenellated towers flanking it, plus a rectangular hall in the center front.²⁰ The center back structure seems to be the Tower of David—so-called after the fortified first-century defensive tower mistakenly associated with the ancient Hebrew King David.²¹ The term Tower of David was used for the tower itself or for the whole citadel complex that included a tower and the adjacent David

¹⁹ On medieval and modern changes to the building, see *ibid.*, 404–09.

²⁰ Note this differs from the other suggestion of Jacoby that the Tower of David was to the right, the Gate in the center, and the *curia regis* tower to the left, Jacoby, “Crusader Sculpture in Cairo,” 124.

²¹ The main tower, from which the name derived, was the Herodian Tower of Phasael, T.S.R. Boase, “Military Architecture in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria,” in *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. Harry W. Hazard, A History of the Crusades (Madison, WI, 1977), 161. See also Bahat and Rubinstein, *Atlas of Jerusalem*, 96.



FIGURE 2.6 Detail of the bottom frame with the Tower and Gate of David and the *curia regis* from the right Jerusalem-themed pilaster, ca. 1187, Complex of Sultan Hasan, Cairo.
(PHOTO: CATHLEEN A. FLECK)

Gate.²² It was used as the royal Frankish fortress after circa 1118.²³ The “*Turris David*” or Tower of David is the label for a tall crenellated structure with arched openings on four levels to the left in the Cambrai map (Fig. 2.2), comparable to the center back building on the relief. The Frankish rulers expanded the Tower of David complex in the 1160s by adding a new palace, the *curia regis*, onto the south side of the citadel. Though the *curia regis* palace was dismantled at some point, perhaps around 1239 when the Ayyubid leader destroyed the city’s walls, the Cambrai map portrays a rare contemporary illustration of it, labeled as “*curia regis*.”²⁴ The map shows the palace as a hall-type structure with arcaded lower levels and a gabled roof, similar to the front building in the relief.²⁵ Because the palace is now completely gone, the thirteenth-century bishop’s palace in Parma, Italy is a suggestive example of how the palace might have once appeared (Fig. 2.7).²⁶ The map suggests that the pilaster relief is also showing the palace’s original form.²⁷ The Cambrai map also displays two towers, one

22 David’s Gate, now called the Jaffa Gate, protects the city’s important west portal, to which many pilgrims and attackers came. Also called the Fish or Joppa Gate, see the Hague map in Anton Legner, ed., *Ornamenta Ecclesiae: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik. Katalog zur Ausstellung des Schnütgen-Museums in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle* (Köln, 1985), 76. See also Bahat and Rubinstein, *Atlas of Jerusalem*, 96; Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 111, 88; Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, 559 n. 20.

23 The Latin kings moved there when they gave over their former palace, the *Templum Salomonis*, to the Templars in 1118. See also Boase, “Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States,” 87; “Military Architecture,” 161.

24 Theoderic, a visitor in 1169, offers the first written mention of the palace, Theoderich, *Guide to the Holy Land* [Libellus de locis sanctis], trans. Aubrey Stewart, 2nd ed. (New York, 1986), 7. The dates given to it range from 1120s to 1160s, see Dan Bahat, “Crusader Jerusalem,” in *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. Silvia Rozenberg (Jerusalem, 1999), 72; Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, 80. See also Ellenblum, “Frankish Castles, Muslim Castles,” 101; Miryam Rosen-Ayalon, “Three Perspectives on Jerusalem: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Pilgrims in the Twelfth Century,” in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Lee I. Levine (New York, 1999), 330–34, 342–44.

25 Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, 81–82. Archaeological work by Bahat in the area suggests that it had two large (17 m) barrel-vaulted spaces within, with some groin-vaulted rooms as well, Dan Bahat and M. Broshi, “Excavations in the Armenian Garden,” in *Jerusalem Revealed: Archaeology in the Holy City 1968–1974*, ed. Yigael Yadin (New Haven, 1976), 56. He has not yet published his complete findings from this work. Note that Hannah Vorholt has convincingly identified the palace’s presence on some other twelfth-century maps, Vorholt, “Herrschaft über Jerusalem,” 220–23.

26 On Parma, see Areli Marina, *The Italian Piazza Transformed: Parma in the Communal Age* (University Park, PA, 2012).

27 Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, 82.



FIGURE 2.7 Bishop's Palace, Parma, Italy, twelfth century.
(PHOTO COURTESY OF ARELI MARINA)

square and one round, at the corners of the *curia regis* palace (Fig. 2.2).²⁸ The slight erosion of the reliefs makes it difficult to tell if the left and right towers are also of two different shapes, but the fact that they are on either side of the palace suggests that they could be the hall's two towers.

2 Placing and Dating: Comparisons Near and Far

To determine the early context of the architectural pilaster, it is essential to analyze its place of production and dating through comparisons to analogous sculpted works. Zehava Jacoby postulated that this pilaster is a pair with another to the left on the façade of Sultan Hasan's Cairene complex (Fig. 2.8). She asserts that both are products of the same Frankish workshop.²⁹ The second pilaster's side facing outward contains a relief of grape clusters and vine and leaf motifs, and its side towards the middle of the portal contains individual flowers linked by tendrils.

The similarities of these vine and floral motifs to Frankish-era remains on the modern Temple Mount, such as the fragments in reuse on the *dikkah* of

²⁸ See Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, III, 88; Ellenblum, "Frankish Castles, Muslim Castles," 107–08. Compare Vorholt, "Herrschaft über Jerusalem," 222–23.

²⁹ Jacoby, "Crusader Sculpture in Cairo," 121–38.



FIGURE 2.8 Left pilaster, ca. 1187, façade, Complex of Sultan Hasan, Cairo.
(PHOTO: CATHLEEN A. FLECK)

the al-Aqsa mosque, led Jacoby to associate the left pilaster with a so-called “Temple” workshop.³⁰ Based on similarities between the pilaster pair’s zigzag capitals and raised borders, she associates the architectural pilaster as well to

³⁰ Ibid., 123, pl. 5.8a; Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, 441–51. Pringle proposes a late twelfth-century date and suggests that the workshop need not have been tied to the Temple area, Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 111, 432.

the same workshop. In addition, the Temple workshop created pieces for the royal Frankish family, such as tombs, panels, and pilasters with zigzag, braided, and foliate designs, similar to the other sides of the Jerusalemite pilaster.³¹ Both Ayyubid and Mamluk conquerors in late twelfth- and thirteenth-century Jerusalem disassembled buildings and reused their parts on Muslim structures throughout the city and beyond.³² This fact renders a reconstruction of Frankish Jerusalem difficult.³³ The point is not to determine with certainty if these two pilasters now in the façade of the Sultan Hasan complex did originally belong together, yet generally to present that it is convincing that they contain parallels to one another and to other work in Jerusalem to allow for Jerusalem production and dating for the architectural pilaster around the downfall of Jerusalem in 1187.

Although Jacoby links the style of the pilasters in the façade of the Cairo complex to the range of works from the Temple workshop, she argues that the Jerusalemite pilaster would *not* have been made or set in Jerusalem before 1187 but produced later in Acre by the relocated workshop.³⁴ Her reasoning is that it would have been redundant to display buildings on the Jerusalemite pilaster when they were so near to the same structures represented. In my opinion, redundancy would not have been a hindrance for the pilaster's medieval patrons. I assert that the architectural pilaster's production before 1187 is indeed viable,

31 See Jacoby, "Crusader Sculpture in Cairo," 123. See also idem, "The Workshop of the Temple Area in Jerusalem in the Twelfth Century: Its Origin, Evolution and Impact," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 45, no. 4 (1982): 325–94. The "Temple" workshop, and thus the Jerusalemite pilaster, was distinct from the Holy Sepulcher workshop that carved that monument's portals, lintels, capitals, and reliefs in the 1140s–1150s and disbanded by the late 1150s. See Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, 177–229, esp. 229.

32 On such Ayyubid and Mamluk spoils, see Finbarr Barry Flood, "An Ambiguous Aesthetic: Crusader 'Spolia' in Ayyubid Jerusalem," in *Ayyubid Jerusalem: The Holy City in Context, 1187–1250*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand and Sylvia Auld (London, 2009), 202–15; Fleck, "Crusader Spolia in Medieval Cairo," 249–300; and Viktoria Meinecke-Berg, "Spolien in Der Mittelalterlichen Architektur Von Kairo," in *Ägypten, Dauer Und Wandel: Symposium Anlässlich Des 75. Jährigen Bestehens Des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Am 10. Und 11. Oktober 1982*, Sonderschrift Deutsches Archäologisches Instituts. Abteilung Kairo (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), 131–42.

33 Jacoby, "Crusader Sculpture in Cairo," 123–26; Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, 441–56.

34 Jacoby, "Crusader Sculpture in Cairo," 125–26. Jacoby claims that this workshop was presumably active in the area of the Temple Mount from circa 1167–87 in Jerusalem, just before the Ayyubid conquest, and then seemingly transferred to the port city of Acre soon after the Franks established a capital there by 1191. On the workshop, see idem, "The Workshop of the Temple Area," 325–94; idem, "The Tomb of Baldwin V, King of Jerusalem (1185–1186), and the Workshop of the Temple Area," *Gesta* 18, no. 2 (1979): 3–14.

with its placement on a building in Jerusalem near the same monuments displayed being a feasible political and religious maneuver for a Frankish patron.

To support my supposition that representations of a medieval building can be in or near the building represented for strategic reasons, a comparison to southern Italian artistic forms, argued by several scholars to have influenced the sculpture of the Frankish Levant, is useful.³⁵ The sculpture of the cloister of the Cathedral of Monreale (circa 1175–85), created at the behest of the Norman kings of Sicily, is noteworthy for its cloister capital representing King William II offering a model of the cathedral to the Virgin (Fig. 2.9).³⁶



FIGURE 2.9 Cloister capital, Cathedral of Monreale, Italy, late twelfth century.
(PHOTO COURTESY OF JOHN FINCH)

35 See Helmut Buschhausen, *Die Süditalienische Bauplastik Im Königreich Jerusalem Von König Wilhelm II. Bis Kaiser Friedrich II.*, vol. 108, Österreichischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften (Vienna, 1978), Chapter 1; Jacoby, "The Workshop of the Temple Area," 325–94. See also Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, 455–56; Bianca Kühnel, "Crusader Art in the Holy Land," in *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. Silvia Rozenberg (Jerusalem, 1999), 162–67; and Silvia Rozenberg, "Sculptural Fragments," *ibid.*, 187–91.

36 See Wolfgang Krönig, *The Cathedral of Monreale and Norman Architecture in Sicily* (Palermo, 1965), 62–79. Salvini argues for the Provençal origins of this monument's sculpture, Roberto Salvini, *The Cloister of Monreale and Romanesque Sculpture in Sicily* (Palermo, 1962), 16.

The capital's placement allows a viewer to see the actual church in the same line of sight as the capital's symbolic representation. In this way, the genuine basilica identifies the building seen on the capital, while the capital serves as an everlasting votive sign of the relationship of William II with the Virgin that the basilica embodies. This pact is further emphasized by a repeated representation of William II offering the church to the Virgin in an interior mosaic near the basilica's altar. These Monreale examples demonstrate how contemporary representations of a building next to or in an actual building in a medieval setting is not redundant but rather reifies the many meanings for the building.³⁷

Another approach in studying the architectural pilaster is to find examples of sculptural relief showing analogous Jerusalem architecture. One rare example in Provence, although rather distant from the holy city itself, is in a Frankish setting that suggests a meaningful connection of the represented building form with Jerusalem. The contemporary sculptural art of Provence in southern France may have influenced the Temple workshop either through traveling sculptors or patrons with ties to the Holy Land.³⁸ In the south or right tympanum Crucifixion scene (dated circa 1140s–1150s) of the Benedictine complex of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard in Provence (Fig. 2.10), the *Templum Domini* appears as a crown on the head of Synagoga personified, who is pushed over by an angel (Fig. 2.11).³⁹ On the one hand, an interpretation of this portrayal of the rounded dome with small windows around it relies on its biblical symbolism. The dome could be a reference to the ancient Jewish Temple, whose location was seen as the same as that of the *Templum Domini*. The toppling of the dome in a Crucifixion scene in particular might signify that the death of Christ the Savior and the new law it represents figuratively overcame the old law of Judaism.⁴⁰ On the other hand, a contemporary interpretation of this portrayal stems from Saint-Gilles-du-Gard's ties to the crusades, suggesting a specific Frankish meaning for the Crucifixion scene and for its reference to the *Templum Domini*. Saint-Gilles-du-Gard was a European embarkation point for the crusades in general and especially for Raymond IV, count of Toulouse and lord of Saint-Gilles and

37 Another reason to compare Monreale is for the manner that architecture is represented in its capital scenes. Buildings in the Monreale Annunciation and Joseph scenes create a specific sense of place, as found in the Jerusalemite pilaster, see *ibid.*, 100–03.

38 For a succinct overview of the issue of European influence in Crusader sculpture, see Kühnel, "Crusader Art in the Holy Land," 167–71. See also Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, 441.

39 See Whitney Stoddard, *The Façade of Saint-Gilles-Du-Gard. Its Influence on French Sculpture* (Middletown, CT, 1973); Carra Ferguson O'Meara, *The Iconography of the Façade of Saint-Gilles-Du-Gard* (New York, 1977). Note that other scenes of Jerusalem and its buildings appear on this church façade, Stoddard, *The Façade of Saint-Gilles-Du-Gard*, 3.

40 See O'Meara, *Saint-Gilles*; Fishhof, "Reconsidering," 95–96.



FIGURE 2.10 Church Façade, Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, France, twelfth century.
(PHOTO COURTESY OF DOROTHY GLASS)

one of the leaders in the First Crusade. In this context, the dome on the head of the female figure being pushed over could stand for Jerusalem itself, or more specifically for the geographical spot of the *Templum Domini*, the last location taken from their Muslim rivals in 1099 with Raymond's aid.⁴¹ Though the representation of a distant building form in a narrative scene in southern France differs from the iconic buildings on the pilaster from Jerusalem, Saint-Gilles offers uncommon precedence for the symbolic use of Jerusalem architecture in a visible and explicitly Frankish setting. This Provençal example is important as a rare representation to offer a possible model for understanding the pilaster's Jerusalem buildings and their symbolic meaning in the crusader-era, hinting at how the reliefs could have had additional potency in a setting in Jerusalem proper.⁴²

41 Moreover, the monastic military orders of the Hospitallers and Templars were involved with Saint-Gilles-du-Gard as a place to promote crusade to Jerusalem as a religious pilgrimage and an effort to combat the enemies of Christianity. See *ibid.*, 94. See also O'Meara, *Saint-Gilles*, 108–16, 132, 138.

42 See Zehava Jacoby, "The Provençal Impact on Crusader Sculpture in Jerusalem: More Evidence on the Temple Area Atelier," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 48, no. 4 (1985): 442–50.



FIGURE 2.11 Right Tympanum, Church Façade, Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, France, twelfth century.
(PHOTO COURTESY OF DOROTHY GLASS)

3 Building Activity and the Meaning of the Architectural Pilaster in Jerusalem

Because the Ayyubids and Mamluks dismantled a large number of crusader structures and moved around so many sculptural pieces, we cannot reliably choose current extant buildings as possible locations for the architectural pilaster. An examination of the record of Frankish building activity in Jerusalem in the late twelfth century offers another approach to reveal a possible setting to have once contained the architectural relief pilaster. Indeed, I assert that the location of the Jerusalemite pilaster near to the buildings represented thereon would have strengthened the political and religious meanings in Jerusalem for the architectural pilaster, showing the key role played by these holy city buildings in the Frankish kingdom's system of power.

A place of significant building activity where such a sculpted pilaster might have been found in late twelfth-century Jerusalem was on the façade surface or sides of a portal of the new royal palace, the *curia regis* shown to the top

left on the Cambrai map (Fig. 2.2), built circa 1170 as discussed earlier.⁴³ As a great hall (compare Fig. 2.7), the palace was used for state events, from legal hearings to banquets to diplomatic receptions, as well as for food storage.⁴⁴ Archeologist Dan Bahat excavated in an area called the Armenian Gardens, which is 125 meters south of the Tower of David citadel and thus in the zone presumed to have held the *curia regis*.⁴⁵ In an abbreviated description of his findings, Bahat suggests that he found the palace façade and that it was decorated with engaged pillars.⁴⁶ Bahat has not published his excavation material fully so it is not possible to analyze any details such as whether the crusader pilaster would have fit the measurements of the façade as an engaged pillar on the exterior walls or as a portal decoration.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, it seems possible that the pilaster could have been on the new palace, in the same manner that pilasters are attached to facades in contemporary southern French or Italian architecture, described above as influencing Levantine sculptors. Compare the engaged pilasters visible between figures on the façade at Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (Fig. 2.10) or placed to the sides of the portal at Sant'Andrea in Barletta (Fig. 2.12), each containing floral, interlace, or grooved motifs that relate their styles generally to the architectural pilaster. This palace seems a practical possibility for the pilaster's home. Analysis of some meanings that the representation of the Jerusalem buildings would have had on the new palace façade or portal goes further to substantiate this claim by pointing out strategic royal connections among these sites.

To illuminate the regal connections among the three buildings shown on the architectural pilaster, i.e., the Anastasis rotunda of the Holy Sepulcher, the *Templum Domini*, and the Tower of David complex, an examination of the royal coins and seals of the Kingdom of Jerusalem is critical. The Frankish coins and seals displayed the same three structures in various combinations throughout

43 See Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, 80–82.

44 See Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, trans. G. Nahon, 2nd ed., 2 vols., *Les Croisades et le premier royaume latin*, Le Monde Byzantin (Paris, 2001), vol. 1, 484.

45 See Bahat and Broshi, “Armenian Garden,” 55–56.

46 Bahat, “Crusader Jerusalem,” 72; Bahat and Broshi, “Armenian Garden,” 55–56; Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, 82; and Hillel Geva, “Jerusalem,” in *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. Ephraim Stern (Jerusalem, 1993), 797. Ellenblum questions whether the Armenian Garden excavations would have been the *curia regis*, Ellenblum, “Frankish Castles, Muslim Castles,” 108–09.

47 Boas, *Jerusalem in the Time of the Crusades*, 82.



FIGURE 2.12 Portal of Sant'Andrea, Barletta, Italy, twelfth-thirteenth century.
(PHOTO COURTESY OF DOROTHY GLASS)

the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The Frankish rulers used them as symbols of their sacred and secular power based in Jerusalem.⁴⁸

In terms of coinage, the right to mint a coin in this part of the Levant was a royal prerogative begun after the initial forty years of the kingdom, and the inclusion of at least one of these Jerusalem buildings became a royal minting tradition. The first Frankish coin was likely that of Baldwin III (r. 1143–63) with the legend BALDVINUS REX and the Tower of David portrayed as a crenelated tower, as on the pilaster.⁴⁹ In other examples, Amalricus (r. 1163–1174) and John of Brienne (r. 1210–25) coins show the Anastasis rotunda with its oculus, a conical roof, and an arcade beneath; these structural forms are in fact quite similar to the architectural form found on the top relief of the pilaster.⁵⁰ These buildings were a part of the land under the kings' control before 1187 and of their claimed land even after they lost Jerusalem and this part of their realm.⁵¹

In terms of the royal Frankish seals, they included the combination of all three buildings together, impressed to endorse documents and then sent around the realm and beyond to a wide public. They reinforced the connections that the kings made from the start of the Frankish reign among these three structures as essential visual signals of their realm. The seals were created to imprint on official documents and letters from the time of Baldwin I (r. 1100–1118)⁵² up to the time of Kings Aimery (of Lusignan, r. 1197–1205)⁵³ and John of Brienne (Fig. 2.13).⁵⁴ Seals were allowed for twenty-two official

48 Ibid., 200–01. On the coins of Amalricus and the royal seals with the Holy Sepulcher, see Pesant, Sabine, and Metcalf, "The 'Amalricus' Coins," 105–21.

49 See *ibid.*, 109–11.

50 See *ibid.*, 105–13. There is a debate on whether the name 'Amalricus' refers to Amaury (r. 1163–1174) or to Aimery (r. 1197–1205), though Pesant argues for at least some to be issued from Amaury's time and the dies reused later, *ibid.*, 109–12.

51 D.M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford*, 2nd ed., Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication (London, 1995), 41–42, 52–53, 57, 77, 86. One exception is an example of 1187 showed the Tower of David and was likely of baronial production, *ibid.*, 87.

52 See Hans Eberhard Mayer and Claudia Sode, *Die Siegel der Lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem* (Wiesbaden, 2014), 5, 62–64, Tafel 4; Gustave Schlumberger, Ferdinand Chalandon, and Adrien Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1943), 1–2.

53 Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, 41; Mayer and Sode, *Die Siegel der Lateinischen Könige*, 164–67, Tafel 76.

54 On seal of John of Brienne with all three buildings (c.1225), see *Die Siegel der Lateinischen Könige*, 167–74, Tafeln 79–81. See also Jacoby, "Crusader Sculpture in Cairo," 124–25; Schlumberger, Chalandon, and Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin*, 1–2, pl. 1 (1–3); and Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, 289–90, 334–37. On the later seals, see Prawer, *Histoire*, 1: Les Croisades et le premier royaume latin, 243. See also Pesant, Sabine, and Metcalf, "The 'Amalricus' Coins," 114.



FIGURE 2.13 Representation of the *Templum Domini* (or Dome of the Rock), Tower of David, and Anastasis Rotunda.
IMPRINT FROM SEAL OF JOHN OF BRIENNE (R. 1210-1225) (STAATLICHE MÜNZSAMMLUNG MÜNCHEN, NICOLAI KÄSTNER, POS. NR. 10/153 I 4)

lordships in the Crusader kingdom, plus the royalty, and their imprint on official documents represented these nobles' authority.⁵⁵ Significantly, the seals from kings Baldwin to John showed the same three Jerusalem monuments together as those on the architectural pilaster: (from left to right on the seal) the *Templum Domini*, the Tower of David, and the Holy Sepulcher dome. The accompanying inscription on the same side of the seals emphasizes that the Frankish king's royal identity was deeply connected with the city and with his

⁵⁵ Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades*, 86. See also Mayer and Sode, *Die Siegel der Lateinischen Könige*.

and Christ's kingdom: *CIVITAS REGIS REGUM OMNIUM*.⁵⁶ On the obverse, the king is, as typical, pictured enthroned in majesty, holding a scepter and globe with crosses atop them both to emphasize that his realm was Christian. The three buildings—given meaning by the buildings' links to the biblical past and life of Christ described above, to each king's contemporary status as ruler in the city, and to the crusaders' desired future to continue in the Holy Land—literally and figuratively embody his regal status on their seals.

If the architectural pilaster's display of these buildings as a group were on the palace façade, its appearance would proffer another public visualization of that network among the three buildings in Jerusalem. Yet another manner that the kings linked these buildings was through certain official rituals. In particular, the ritual of the Frankish coronation demonstrates the geographical web of these three buildings across the city.

Though the order of these buildings on the pilaster may not match their order as visited in their ritual, they nonetheless each have a distinct role and meaning in the coronation ceremony.⁵⁷ Presumably a new ruler started the coronation day at the *curia regis* near the Tower of David (on the bottom of the pilaster). The Tower itself was important as the Franks' hard-won seat of military power after 1099 and thus as a symbol of Frankish strength. The *curia regis* epitomized the stabilization of that power in the holy city, built after several decades of the kingdom as a proper contemporary palace for a king of influence.⁵⁸

The next stop on the coronation ritual was then the Holy Sepulcher church (at the top of the pilaster), the site of the Frankish kings' crowning in Jerusalem from 1131 to the loss of the city, for which the symbolism was multivalent.⁵⁹ One illustration of coronation from a later version of William of Tyre's (archbishop of Tyre from circa 1175–86) *Histoire d'Outremer* manuscript (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W.142, fol. 102r, dated second quarter of fourteenth century) (Fig. 2.14) shows understanding of the process even after Jerusalem was no longer the center of the Frankish kingdom. Richard Leson has studied this manuscript most recently, pointing out that the iconography of this portion of the manuscript hearkens to earlier illustrated versions of the text from

⁵⁶ See *ibid.*, 15.

⁵⁷ Three key sources about the coronation are the Assizes of Jerusalem or law books, the various chronicles of the crusades, and pictorial representations, Svetlana I. Luchitskaya, "Pictorial Sources, Coronation Ritual and Daily Life in the Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *Ritual, Images, and Daily Life: The Medieval Perspective*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Münster, 2012), 50.

⁵⁸ See Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, 46, 289, 337, and 558–59 n. 20.

⁵⁹ See Luchitskaya, "Pictorial Sources, Coronation Ritual," 50–51.



FIGURE 2.14 Death of Baldwin I and Coronation of Baldwin II, William of Tyre's *Histoire d'Outremer* (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W.142, fol. 102r), fourteenth century.
(COURTESY OF THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM)

crusader-era Acre.⁶⁰ As Svetlana Luchitskaya emphasizes, these illustrated chronicle manuscripts did reflect the past though with some errors.⁶¹ A litter processing into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday 1118 according to chronicles carried the deceased Baldwin I (in the top register) into the domed Holy Sepulcher for immediate burial (Fig. 2.14).⁶² The dome of the Holy Sepulcher appears indirectly over the coronation of his successor Baldwin II in the register below. This scene may be a confusion of traditions that surrounded Baldwin II's selection, as he was anointed king in Jerusalem right after Baldwin I's death but only

60 See Leson, "Walters 'Histoire d'Outremer,'" 87. See also Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291* (Princeton, 1976), 155–58.

61 Luchitskaya, "Pictorial Sources, Coronation Ritual," 50.

62 This account according to Albert of Aachen, in Elizabeth Hallam, ed. *Chronicles of the Crusades* (New York, 1989), 105–06. See also Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, III*, 16–17.

crowned king later that same year in Bethlehem.⁶³ An arcade that recalls the lower level interior of the Anastasis rotunda⁶⁴—as on the architectural pilaster's rotunda relief—surrounds Baldwin II in this lower level, further merging earlier and later rituals of coronation.⁶⁵ The image highlights the insistent association of the coronation with the Holy Sepulcher as occurred from 1131, even though Baldwin II's coronation actually took place in the Church of the Nativity. The ceremony of the coronation was generally the same across the period of the crusading kings, at least according to the standard in the written sources.⁶⁶ In this image, the patriarch, who represents ecclesiastical authority, crowns Baldwin II as prescribed. He thereby confirms the king's ruling status in a pointed parallel to the Old Testament kings' anointing by a priest.⁶⁷ The ancient Israelite kings were of particular interest to the rulers of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish noblemen, as they were "seen as a part the redemptive history and as the ancient history of the crusaders themselves."⁶⁸ For the Latin kings crowned in either the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem or the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, the king's coronation in those sites connects him also to salvation history by making him comparable to the most holy king, Christ, whose birth, sacrifice, and resurrection were honored in those sites.

The royal procession would traverse the city eastward as the final part of the Frankish coronation ritual to the *Templum Domini* (the middle building on the pilaster), which building cemented the Frankish king's significance by holding ceremonies that linked the king's experience to biblical history. The twelfth-century chronicler Ernoul describes that in 1185 at Baldwin V's (r. 1185–86) coronation, Baldwin V went to the *Templum Domini*, understood to be the site where the Virgin Mary offered Jesus Christ, to place his crown on the altar.⁶⁹ The Book of John of Ibelin, the most extensive of the Assizes or law books, explains why. Christ had himself been offered at the Temple altar, and each king placed his own crown on the altar to symbolize his act of submission to

63 On William of Tyre's statement, see Luchitskaya, "Pictorial Sources, Coronation Ritual," 58–59. See Hallam, *Chronicles*, 105–06; Paul Bigelow Schaeffer, "Some Aspects of the Government of Baldwin II, Second Latin King of Jerusalem" (MA Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1915), 3–4.

64 See Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, III, 26.

65 See *ibid.*, 17.

66 See Luchitskaya, "Pictorial Sources, Coronation Ritual," 50, 56.

67 *Ibid.*, 51, 60, fig. 3.

68 *Ibid.*, 64.

69 *Ibid.*, 68–69.

the Lord in parallel to Christ's sacrifice: "et là euffre sa corone sur l'autier où fu offert nostre Seignor à saint Symeon".⁷⁰ This act in the *Templum Domini* clearly demonstrated the king's humility while showing his position in the salvific line of blessed kings.⁷¹ Thus the *Templum Domini*, already identified with the life of Christ, was inexorably tied to the king of Jerusalem as well.

The question of who was the patron of this architectural pilaster will remain unanswered, yet a royal patron seems likely for such an unusual piece of fine relief sculpture with these particular buildings and the meanings that they embodied as a group for the kings. There is other tentative evidence that royal family members were active patrons of the Temple workshop around the same time; Jacoby has suggested that the royal family commissioned tombs in the 1180s from the Temple workshop.⁷² If the king ordered this architectural pilaster for the façade or portal of the new royal palace at the Tower of David, the architectural grouping would be a lasting association of the king with these three important buildings for the eyes of the many visitors who often used the busy David Gate to enter the city and pass by the palace.

The political and religious meaning of these three buildings would be quite important to the kings throughout the century, though later tensions may have made their inclusion together on the pilaster particularly relevant. In the period circa 1170–1185 leading up to and including the construction of the *curia regis* when the pilaster was likely carved, the royal court was especially in conflict within its ranks and with the senior members of the Frankish nobility.⁷³ They argued over issues such as how, if, and when to engage in battle with Muslim enemies led by Saladin, who was putting increasing pressure on the kingdom's borders. In addition, the royal family had problems asserting their dominance, given an ill king Baldwin IV (r. 1174–1185), succession concerns, as well as the military orders' rise in prominence.⁷⁴ All of these burdens created the need for the kings to emphasize their royal power to their public, and advertising the sites of their power on their new palace would be one logical way to do so.

70 Ibid., 50, 52 n. 12.

71 Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 111, 422. See Ernoul, *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard Le Tresorier*, ed. Louis comte de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), 118. See also Luchitskaya, "Pictorial Sources, Coronation Ritual," 52, 52 n. 12, 68–69.

72 Jacoby, "The Workshop of the Temple Area," 384–85.

73 For an assessment of the matters of conflict and the extent to which there was a court versus noble faction against one another, see Peter W. Edbury, "Propaganda and Faction in the Kingdom of Jerusalem: The Background of Hattin," in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller, The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1453 (Leiden, 1993), 173–89.

74 See Prawer, *Histoire*, 1: Les Croisades et le premier royaume latin, 577, 584. See also Folda, *Art of the Crusaders 1098–1187*, 410–14; Stephen Lay, "A Leper in Purple: The Coronation of Baldwin IV in Jerusalem," *Journal of Medieval History* 23, no. 4 (1997): 322–26.

The pilaster would also exemplify the coronation path to the Holy Sepulcher and the *Templum Domini* in a concrete manifestation of the ephemeral yet highly symbolic ceremony that brought the king to the throne. As a result, it would reaffirm the special role of the anointed kings in relation to these three key sites in the holy city. The many interpretations of the pilaster seem most strongly to support a royal patron as a possibility.

4 Conclusion

In conclusion, the Jerusalemite pilaster from the Frankish Levant (Fig. 2.1) codifies the symbolic, practical, geographic, religious, political, and ritualistic connections among the three sites of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the *Templum Domini*, and the Tower of David and *curia regis*. While some details of the decorative aspects of the pilaster liken it to the Temple workshop in the late twelfth century in the Levant, no analogous contemporary architectural depictions are remaining to compare. Examples from contemporary France, Italy, and Sicily in façades, portals, and cloisters show placements and details of comparable sculptures. In addition, examination of Jerusalem building activity in the late twelfth century suggests that new construction appropriate to hold such a pilaster on a façade or in a portal did occur in the form of the *curia regis*, a new royal palace. The possibility of a regal patron for the pilaster is elucidated by the ceremonial and liturgical activities of the royal coronation that literally and figuratively formed a network of these same three monuments across space and time in Jerusalem before 1187. The pilaster groups them together as a reflection of particular royal concerns to visualize the sites of their religious and political power as they grappled for authority in the city and in the realm.

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Religion and Conflict: Investigating the Role of Relics and Holy Sites in the Religiously Diverse Society of Crusader Famagusta, Cyprus

Tomasz Borowski

1 Medieval Cult of Relics and Holy Places

Relics are the preserved remains of a saint or holy person (corporeal relics), or objects with which they came into physical contact, such as clothing (secondary or contact relics). Their power to heal is mentioned in the Bible in the excerpts describing a miracle associated with the mantle of Elijah (Kings 2:9–14) and ascribing curative powers to cloths that had been touched by St. Paul (Acts 19:11–12). The cult of relics found a place among the earliest Christian communities, though their veneration has a far older history and is shared by many religions of the world. From a medieval Christian perspective, relics represented the living physical presence of a saint in the world and, on the Day of the Last Judgment, they would be reassembled to become part of the saint's glorified body. Mere possession was itself a visible sign of piety but, more than that, relics were the medium through which a saint could manifest his or her will.¹

The cult of relics and Holy sites played a crucial role in the history of the crusades. The desire to liberate holy places occupied by the Muslims and to reopen the pilgrimage routes to the Levant was the principal driving force behind the Latin capture of Jerusalem in 1099 and the establishment of first crusader states. Once liberated, pilgrimage shrines continued to shape the everyday reality of those who lived in their proximity. On an individual level, contact with holy places or objects was believed to have the power to cure

¹ For general, recent discussion regarding the cult of relics see e.g. Julia Smith, "Relics: An Evolving Tradition in Latin Christianity," in *Saints and Sacred Matter: The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond*, eds. Cyntia Hahn and Holger Klein (Washington, D.C., 2015), 41–60, as well as other papers in this volume. Earlier studies on the subject include e.g. Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Theft of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1990), 3–27; and Godefridus Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (Leiden, 1995).

disease and could be a sign of the divine favor.² Veneration of relics was a manifestation of piety and those involved were granted remission of sins, hoping that indulgences would help their salvation. The value of relics was expressed on many levels, they were accepted as pledges for loans and could be offered as gifts establishing long lasting alliances.³ In the context of the frontier societies of Latin Levant, holy sites were particularly important because they attracted donations and Christian settlers from the core Latin areas willing to visit regions desolated by conflict or populated by non-Latins. Their presence inspired Christian protection and movable relics could be carried by crusading armies to raise Christian morale.⁴

Pilgrimage shrines, however, were not a homogenous group of sites and artifacts. The importance of relics depended on their form and association. Artifacts and places associated with the Passion of Christ were seen as most holy. They include Golgotha and the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem as well as fragments of the True Cross, Crown of Thorns, Christ's blood, nails of the Crucifixion, Holy Chalice, Holy Lance or the Veil of St. Veronica. Relics associated with the Life of Christ and other biblical events were also high in the hierarchy and include for example the caves of Nativity and Transfiguration in Bethlehem and Mount Tabor, the cave where St. Lazarus was resurrected in Bethany, a cross made from a tub in which Christ bathed, one of six jars from Cana in which Christ changed water into wine or St. Mary's hair. Another category of widely venerated sites was formed by relics of the apostles whose pilgrimage sites include Santiago de Compostela, Venice or Trier. Remains of other saints were lower in the hierarchy with popular figures such as St. Nicholas or St. Barbara being more important than regional saints such as St. Olav or St. Oswald. Tombs of popular saints such as St. Catherine of Alexandria, located in the Sinai, as well as other major relics occasionally extracted oil that was gathered and distributed among the faithful in lead or pewter ampullae and mold-made ceramic bottles.⁵ Holy water from sacred wells or rivers, particularly

2 David Allen, "The Order of St. John as a 'School for Ambassadors' in Counter-Reformation Europe," *The Military Orders. Volume 2: Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot, 1998), 373.

3 For example see Anthony Luttrell, "The Rhodian Background of the Order of Saint John on Malta," *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 360 (Aldershot, 1992), 11; or Malcom Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), 200.

4 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land* (Notre Dame, IN, 2010), 18.

5 For discussion see Adrian Boas, *Crusader archaeology: the Material Culture of the Latin East* (London, 2005), 155; and Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land 1098–1187* (Cambridge, 1995), 294–295.

Jordan, could be distributed in a similar manner. Their roles extended beyond that of body relics as they could be used during baptism or thrown into the sea by sailors hoping that their power would calm tempests.⁶

Objects and places that had no direct relation to saints or martyrs could also be elevated to the status of a holy place. This includes sites of miraculous occurrences like the chapel in the crusader castle in Vana-Vastseliina (Estonia) where a levitating cross was spotted in 1353.⁷ A separate group of holy objects was formed by icons which, contrary to the common perception, were venerated by Catholics as well as Orthodox Christians. Templars for example promoted the cult of the miraculous icon of Virgin Mary from Saidnaiya near Damascus as well as the icon of St. Mary in Syrian Tortosa.⁸

Pilgrimage networks in medieval cities, therefore, comprised a wide range of holy sites which served different purposes depending on their form, association and context. Major Levantine cities like Jerusalem or Antioch could develop their pilgrimage networks on the basis of biblical sites associated with the life of Christ or his disciples. Other urban centers, however, had no such advantage.

2 The Development of Famagusta

Famagusta provides an opportunity to trace the creation of a medieval pilgrimage network from the initial phase of the city's development in the late thirteenth century to its sack by Genoa in 1373 and subsequent depopulation and decline.⁹ The end of urban growth marked also the end in the expansion of Famagusta's pilgrimage network although most of the holy sites established

6 Avinoam Shalem, *Islam Christianized: Islamic Portable Objects in the Medieval Church Treasuries of the Latin West*, Ars Faciendi 7 (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), 21.

7 Tomasz Borowski, *Miasta, zamki i klasztory państwa krzyżowego Zakonu Szpitala Najświętszej Marii Panny Domu Niemieckiego w Jerozolimie nad Bałtykiem: Inflanty* [Cities, castles and monasteries of the monastic state of the Teutonic Order in the Baltic: Livonia] (Warsaw, 2010), 309.

8 Mat Immerzeel, *Identity Puzzles: Medieval Christian Art in Syria and Lebanon*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 184 (Leuven, 2009), 45.

9 Claude Delaval Cobham, trans. and ed., *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus, with an Appendix on the Bibliography of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1908), 22; Nicholas Coureas, "Taverns in Medieval Famagusta," in *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta: Studies in Architectural Art and History*, eds. Michael Walsh, Peter Edbury and Nicholas Coureas (Farnham, 2012), 69.

earlier continued to function until the Ottoman conquest of the city in 1571 after which Christians were banned from settling within its walls.¹⁰

When Cyprus was captured by the armies of the Third Crusade in 1191, Famagusta was a fishing settlement with a resident Orthodox bishop, but little political or economic importance and no fortifications or major pilgrimage centers. Its size grew, however, in the late thirteenth century when it was populated by Christian refugees fleeing Muslim advances in the mainland Levant. Famagusta is the easternmost port of Cyprus and close links of its population to the destroyed cities of Latin Levant are documented by fourteenth-century travelers such as Nicholas Martoni¹¹ and toponymic surnames recorded in notary acts drafted in Famagusta such as Isabella of Antioch, William of Tyre,¹² Mathew of Acre or Theodor from Tripoli and Acre.¹³ The latter example suggests that Theodor originally lived in Tripoli, fled to Acre after it was seized and moved to Cyprus in 1291 when Acre fell as well. The stream of refugees continued to flow into the city until the 1370s. After the collapse of the kingdom of Jerusalem their main source was the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia which collapsed under Islamic pressure in 1375.¹⁴ As a result, Famagusta's population included not only Latins and Greeks but also Armenians and a sizable group of Syrian Christians including communities of Melkites, Maronites, Jacobites and Nestorians.¹⁵

Filled with craftsmen and merchants with good knowledge of eastern customs, by the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century Famagusta

10 Discussed in Michael Walsh, "On of the Princypalle Havenes of the See': The Port of Famagusta and the Ship Graffiti in the Church of St. George of the Greeks, Cyprus," *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 37, no. 1 (2008): 115–129.

11 Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 24.

12 Peter Edbury, "Famagusta in 1300," in *Kingdoms of the Crusaders from Jerusalem to Cyprus*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 653 (Farnham, 1999), 345.

13 David Jacoby, "Refugees from Acre in Famagusta around 1300," in *The Harbour of all this Sea and Realm Crusader to Venetian Famagusta*, eds. Michael Walsh, Tamás Kiss, and Nicholas Coureas (Budapest, 2014), 59.

14 For discussion, see Nicholas Coureas, "Between the Latins and Native Tradition: The Armenians in Lusignan Cyprus, 1191–1473," in *L'Église arménienne entre Grecs et Latins: fin XIe-milieu XVe siècle*, eds. Isabelle Augé and Gérard Dédyan (Paris, 2009), 205–214; Allan Langdale and Michael Walsh, "The Architecture, Conservation History and Future of the Armenian church of Famagusta, Cyprus," *Chronos Revue d'Histoire de l'Université de Balamand* 19 (2009): 14; Nicholas Coureas, "Famagusta, A Lifeline for the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," in *The Armenian Church In Famagusta And The Complexity of Cypriot Heritage, Prayers Long Silent*, ed. Michael Walsh (Cham, 2017), 43–60, as well as other papers in this volume.

15 Chris Shabel, "Religion," in *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191–1374*, eds. Angel-Nicolaou-Konnari and Chris Shabel (Leiden 2005), 157–218.

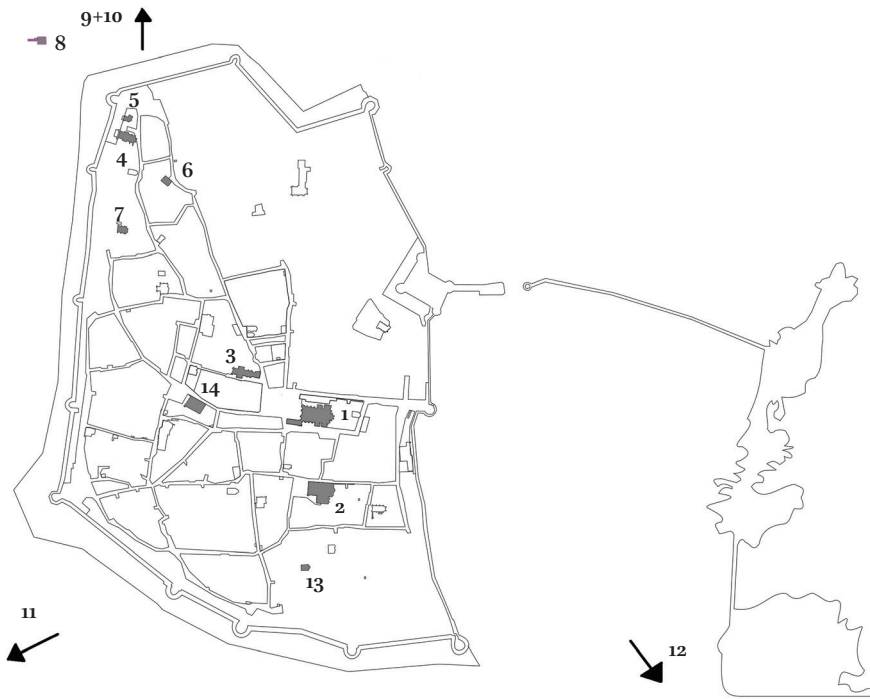


FIGURE 3.1 Reconstructed plan of medieval Famagusta with pilgrimage sites marked in grey: 1. Latin cathedral of St Nicholas, 2. Greek cathedral of St George and church of St Epiphanius, 3. Franciscan church, 4. Carmelite church, 5. Armenian church, 6. Unidentified church (Melkite?), 7. St Anne, 8. Our Lady of Compassion, 9. St Catherine's birthplace, 10. St Catherine's prison, 11. St Mary de la Cava, 12. Island of the Old Man, 13. Aya Zoni, 14. Dominican Church.

replaced Limassol as the principal trade port of Cyprus and became the coronation place where Cypriot monarchs were crowned as titular kings and queens of Jerusalem.¹⁶ Located tantalizingly close to the shores of Syria, it also became the easternmost Latin ruled city of the Mediterranean and served as

16 For discussion, see Philippe Trélat "Nicosia and Famagusta During the Frankish Period (1192–1474): Two Capitals for a Kingdom?," in *The Harbour of All this Sea and Realm: Crusader to Venetian Famagusta*, eds. Michael Walsh, Tamás Kiss, and Nicholas Coureas (Budapest, 2014), 21–39; Arne Franke, "St. Nicholas in Famagusta: A New Approach to the Dating, Sources and Architectural Language," in *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta: Studies in Architectural Art and History*, eds. Michael Walsh, Peter Edbury, and Nicholas Coureas (Farnham, 2012), 75–91; Philippe Plagnieux and Thierry Soulard, "Famagouste La Cathédrale Saint-Nicholas," in *L'art gothique en Chypre*, eds. Jean-Bernard de Vaivre and Philippe Plagnieux, *Mémoires de l'académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 34 (Paris, 2006), 218–237.

the last Christian port in the pilgrimage route from Europe to Jerusalem. As such, the city was regularly visited by pilgrims and soon developed its own religious role and identity. ■ Please provide in text citation for Table 3.1

3 Pilgrimage Sites of Famagusta: St. Mary de la Cava

The growing number of new holy places promoted in the city was a tangible expression of this process. Overall, it is possible to identify 14 such shrines (fig. 3.1). The pilgrimage sites in Famagusta can be divided into four overlapping categories; those identified on the basis of archaeological data, those

TABLE 3.1 Medieval pilgrimage sites identified in Famagusta

Pilgrimage site		Mentioned in historical sources	Attested in archaeological data	Pilgrimage status confirmed	Venerated by more than one religious community
Route of St. Catherine	St. Mary de la Cava	v	v	v	v
	St. Catherine's prison	v	—	v	v
	St. Catherine's birthplace	v	—	v	v
	Franciscan church	v	—	v	v
	Island of the Old Man	v	—	—	v
Dominican church		v	v	—	v (?)
St. Epithanios & St. George		v	v	v	v
St. Nicholas		v	—	v	v (?)
Carmelite church		v	—	v	v
Armenian church		v	v	v	v
Our Lady of Compassion		—	v	—	v (?)
Church excavated by Mogabgab		—	v	—	v (?)
Aya Zoni		—	—	—	—
St. Anne		—	—	—	v (?)

mentioned in the historical sources, those that possess qualities of a pilgrimage site but their identity cannot be confirmed with certainty and those that can be identified without a doubt.

The most popular pilgrimage destination in the religious network of Famagusta was the extramural, underground church of St. Mary de la Cava. The shrine is mentioned in the accounts of European pilgrims such as the Augustinian friar James of Verona who visited it on 1 July 1335. According to his description the church was small in size and located in an underground cavern, about two bowshots outside of the town. It was well lit, decorated and painted. Crowds of visitors prayed inside daily because everyone who landed in Famagusta went there forthwith. St. Mary de la Cava is said to have been particularly popular among the sailors who often invoked her name for protection during sea voyages. James records how he as well, together with the crew of his ship, offered one large or double candle to St. Mary in thanksgiving for their deliverance from dangers.¹⁷ The shrine is mentioned again in an account attributed to pilgrim Nicholas Martoni who visited Famagusta in 1394 and observed that St. Mary de la Cava was venerated by both Latins and Greeks.¹⁸ Another description, from 1566 by Christopher Fürer, notes that the church of St. Mary de la Cava possessed one of the earthen pots from Cana in which Christ changed water into wine.¹⁹

The possession of a holy relic, however, may not have been the only reason why the church was so popular among pilgrims in the fourteenth century. A papal letter from 1328 indicates that St. Mary de la Cava had close links with one of the most important pilgrimage sites in the Levant—the monastery and burial place of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai. In the letter, Pope John XIII instructs the canon of Nicosia Peter de Manso and Dominican Arnaldo de Fargis to grant the church of St. Mary de la Cava in perpetuity to the bishop and monks of the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai who, as we are told, were occupying and maintaining it in any case.²⁰ Although it is uncertain whether the grant was actually carried out, the letter attests to the presence of Sinai monks in the church. St. Catherine was an orthodox monastery located beyond the frontiers of Latin Christendom but because of its religious importance, in July 1217 it was taken under direct papal protection by Pope Honorius

¹⁷ Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 16.

¹⁸ Ibid. 24.

¹⁹ Ibid. 78.

²⁰ Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1313–1378*, Text and Studies in the History of Cyprus 65 (Nicosia, 2010), 471.

III and owned properties on the Latin controlled islands of Crete and Cyprus.²¹ Religious and institutional links with Sinai certainly boosted the reputation of St. Mary de la Cava. Especially since the cult of St. Catherine was particularly strong in Famagusta and the city developed its own pilgrimage route comprising four more holy sites associated with her.²² Promotion of these sites formed part of a broader process through which St. Catherine's image was transformed into that of a Cypriot saint, even though original hagiographic texts describing her life do not mention the island. St. Catherine's portrayal as Cypriot princess gained popularity only in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and was likely supported by Lusignan monarchs who, in at least one preserved manuscript, could present themselves as descendants and kinsmen of St. Catherine and her royal father.²³ The new narrative specified that St. Catherine's father was to inherit and rule over not just Cyprus but also Cilicia, Rhodes, Damascus and Alexandria which also reflected the extend of potential political ambitions of the Lusignans, particularly in the context of Cilicia and Alexandria.²⁴ The link between St. Catherine and Cypriot Latin monarchy also explains why shrines associated with her were promoted among both Latin and non-Latin Christians.

The pilgrimage character of St. Mary de la Cava is confirmed by its plan and associated material evidence. The location of the church can be identified on the basis of historical descriptions with the underground chamber beneath the modern church which in 1974 was converted to a mosque known as Ulu Camii, some 1500 yards south-west of the walled city.²⁵ Located under the prayer hall of an active mosque, the medieval church is currently inaccessible to the public but local imam may open it to visitors at a special request. The underground chamber is mostly desolated but in its eastern wall there are preserved two large altar niches with three smaller niches at their sides which most likely served as ambries or piscinas (fig. 3.2). This unusual arrangement indicates that the church was used by two religious communities as was observed by Nicholas Martoni. The notion is enforced further by the unusual,

21 Ibid. 470.

22 Shabel, "Religion," 214.

23 Lorenzo Calvelli, "Cypriot Origins, Constantinian Blood: The Legend of the Young Saint Catherine of Alexandria," in *Identity/Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus*, eds. Tassos Papa-costas and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Nicosia, 2014), 365.

24 Ibid. 366.

25 Michele Bacci, "'Mixed' Shrines in the Late Byzantine Period," in *Archaeologia Abrahamica*. Исследования в области археологии и художественной традиции иудаизма, христианства, и ислама [Studies in archaeology and artistic tradition of Judaism, Christianity and Islam], ed. Leonid Beljaev (Moscow, 2009), 442.



FIGURE 3.2 Underground church of St Mary de la Cava with two large altar niches in its eastern wall.

(PHOTO: TOMASZ BOROWSKI)

Π-shaped iconostasis that until recently could be seen inside the church.²⁶ Instead of separating the sanctuary from the nave, it covered only one altar niche from three sides and left the other altar clearly visible. Unfortunately the iconostasis has been recently looted and so its date is uncertain. Papageorgiou noted, however, that some of the icons within it could be attributed to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which suggests that the iconostasis was made in the Latin period or at least that its shape reflected a Latin period tradition. In the light of the presented documents, it is very likely that the covered altar was once used by the Greek monks from the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai while the exposed altar niche served the Latin clergy.²⁷

4 Pilgrimage Sites of Famagusta: St. Catherine's Birthplace and Prison

Two important pilgrimage sites associated with St. Catherine were located to the north of Famagusta, among the ruins of the ancient city of Salamis which was known in the late Roman period as Constantia and since the fourteenth century was identified with the city founded by St. Catherine's father,

²⁶ Recorded and discussed by George Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus: Studies in the Archaeology and Architecture of the Island* (Nicosia, 1918), 225; Athanasios Papageorgiou, *Christian Art in the Turkish Occupied Part of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2010), 69.

²⁷ For a wider discussion regarding the presence of two altar niches in medieval churches on Cyprus see Michalis Olympios, "Shared Devotions: Non-Latin Responses to Latin Saint-hood in Late Medieval Cyprus," *Journal of Medieval History* 39, no. 3 (2013): 321–341.

Constantius. Accounts of pilgrims, like Dominican friar Humbert of Dijon (1329–30), Ludolf of Suchen (1336–1341), anonymous English friar (1345), Franciscan Niccolò da Poggibonsi (1349) or Nicholas Martoni (1394), attest that some of the locations among the ruins were associated with specific moments in St. Catherine's life. These included the place where she was born, the cell in which she was imprisoned and a tomb where her body was once buried.²⁸ According to the sources, the people of Famagusta visited these sites with "great devoutness and frequency."²⁹ There are two churches in that area, which remained in use in the later medieval period. One is the adapted Roman tomb known as the prison of St. Catherine.³⁰ It consists of two chambers which may have been associated with two separate events in St. Catherine's life (fig. 3.3). The shrine is mentioned by early modern travelers such as Pococke, who noted that it was dedicated to St. Catherine and that the saint was probably once buried inside.³¹ The site was still venerated by local Greeks in the early twentieth century; in 1914 Myres noted that there was an annual festival associated with it and that certain thorn-bushes near the church must not be harmed because they are regarded as sacred and dedicated to St. Catherine. He also recorded that during his visit in 1913, one of the small bushes was decorated with rags similar to the ones encountered near saints' tombs in the Near East.³²

The history of this shrine was examined in detail by Calvelli who demonstrated that it was venerated from the late fifteenth century. According to his study, the building identified in earlier sources as the house and birthplace of St. Catherine was located in a different place, within the ruins of the late Antique basilica of St. Epiphanius.³³ Archaeological examinations indicate that in the seventh century the southeastern portion of this basilica was transformed into a small church (fig. 3.4) that remained in use throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.³⁴ Pilgrims' accounts indicate that this shrine was managed by Greek clergy and attracted both Greek and Latin devotees.

28 Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 18–28.

29 Ibid. 25.

30 George Jeffery, "Rock-cutting and Tomb-architecture in Cyprus during the Graeco-Roman Occupation," *Archaeologia* 66 (1915): 159–178.

31 Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries. Volume II, Part 1: Observations on Palestine or the Holy Land, Syria, Mesopotamia, Cyprus and Candia* (London, 1745), 217.

32 John Myres, "Notes on the 'Prison of Saint Catharine' at Salamis in Cyprus," *Archaeologia* 66 (1915): 181.

33 Lorenzo Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico fra medioevo e rinascimento: la percezione del passato romano dell'isola nel mondo occidentale* (Venice, 2009), 157–247.

34 Athanasios Papagerghiou, "L'architecture paléochrétienne de Chypre," in *XIII corso di cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina, seminario internazionale di studi su "Cipro e il*

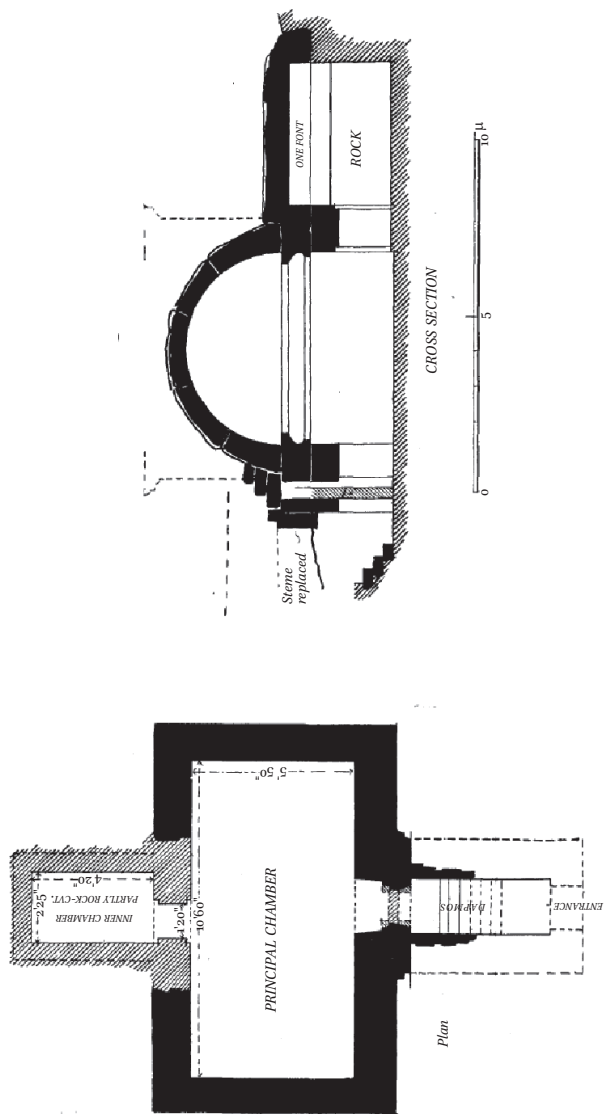


FIGURE 3.3 Roman tomb most likely adapted to serve as a Christian shrine known as "prison of St Catherine" - plan and cross section. (AFTER JEFFERY, "ROCK-CUTTING ...," 172-173)

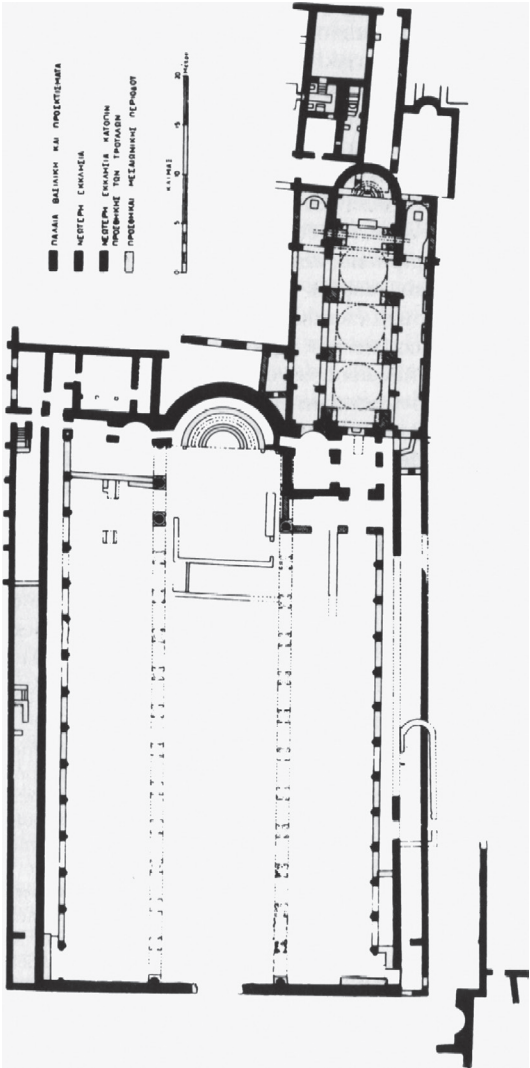


FIGURE 3.4 Plan of the late Antique Basilica of St Epiphanius and the smaller church constructed in its southeastern corner.
(AFTER PAPAGERGHIOU, "L'ARCHITECTURE PALÉOCHRÉTIENNE ...," 302)

Jacques le Saige, who prayed there in 1519, explicitly noted that the chapel he saw housed two altars.³⁵ This confirms that the shrine was venerated by more than one religious community in a manner similar to St. Mary de la Cava. Whether this included not only Latins and Greeks but also Syrians and Armenians is uncertain. The adoption of Middle-Eastern commemorative practices by local Greeks and the popularity of the cult of St. Catherine in the East suggest that it may have been the case. In summary, in the later medieval period, the ruins of ancient Salamis near Famagusta housed two pilgrimage shrines associated with the life of St. Catherine, one located in a small church in the ruins of the late Antique basilica of St. Epiphanius (St. Catherine's birthplace) and the other, located in adapted Roman tomb (St. Catherine's prison). Both attracted pilgrims from more than one religious community though the latter may have developed only in the fifteenth century.

5 Pilgrimage Sites of Famagusta: Franciscan Monastery

Holy sites associated with the life of St. Catherine were also located within the walled town. The account of the pilgrimage of William Wey, who visited the city in 1458, describes how he was shown the spot where St. Catherine learned to read, located in a chapel behind the high altar of the Franciscan church in the city.³⁶ This site is also mentioned by Dominican Wilhelm Tzewers (1477), Flemish traveller Joos van Ghistele (1482–1483) and in sixteenth-century source by Antonio Medina, who noted that the site venerated by Greek men and women who flocked to the Franciscan monastery to pray in its vicinity.³⁷ The medieval building adjacent to the apse of the Franciscan church is still preserved today even though other parts of the convent, including its church, are ruined. The structure consists of a single rectangular room with a lancet gothic window in its east end. There is little material evidence that it was once used as a pilgrimage chapel except for the rectangular niche in its south-eastern corner which may have been used for the storage of sacramental vessels. The room is sometimes referred to as the chapter house.³⁸ It is the only monastic structure preserved in the entire city and it is likely that its survival can be partially attributed to its religious significance. Although sources mentioning it date from

Mediterraneo orientale (Ravenna, 23–30 marzo 1985) (Ravenna, 1985), 301–303; Calvelli, "Cypriot Origins," 368–369.

35 Ibid. 372.

36 Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 35.

37 Olympios, "Shared devotions," 10.

38 Allan Langdale, *In a Contested Realm: An Illustrated Guide to the Archaeology and Historical Architecture of Northern Cyprus* (Kilkerran, 2012), 340.



FIGURE 3.5 Ruins of the Franciscan church with the preserved building (chapter house?) attached to its apse.

(PHOTO: TOMASZ BOROWSKI)

the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is very likely that the shrine attracted pilgrims from more than one religious community already in the fourteenth century when Famagusta experienced a period of growth and when the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land was created (1342), thus, creating a strong link between the Order and Levantine pilgrimage places. The *terminus ante quem* for the shrine's construction is provided by Wey's account of 1458. In 1605, after most Christians were expelled from the city, the building was incorporated into a newly built Ottoman bath house and today serves as part of a modern club and restaurant (fig. 3.5).

It should be noted that the structure adjacent to the apse of the Franciscan church was not the only religiously significant location in the monastery. The church of the convent was the burial place of the Franciscan Gryphon of Flanders (d. 1475), who in 1450 became the first Roman Catholic resident advisor to the Maronite Patriarch in Lebanon.³⁹ Gryphon invited a number of Maronites to join the Franciscan Order and one of his protégées, Jibra'il ibn

39 Kamal Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions: The History of Lebanon Reconsidered* (London, 2005), 76.

al-Qila'i became the Maronite bishop of Cyprus and a renowned intellectual whose writings had a significant impact on the development of Maronite identity.⁴⁰ The tomb of the "missionary to the Maronites," as the Franciscan friar is sometimes called, may have attracted a local cult involving Famagusta's Latin and Maronite communities though it is uncertain whether it ever achieved wider popularity.⁴¹

6 Pilgrimage Sites of Famagusta: The Island of the Old Man

The fourth site associated with the life of St. Catherine and the fifth shrine in her pilgrimage route around the city was located on the southernmost of the three islands in Famagusta's harbor. Information about it comes almost exclusively from Nicholas Martoni who recorded that during his stay in Famagusta in 1394 he was told a story of how St. Catherine's parents sought to find a proper husband for her. The saint, however, would not accept anyone less fair, wise and rich than her, so she was advised by her mother to seek council from a hermit who lived on one of the islands nearby. The holy man listened to St. Catherine and told her that the only spouse worthy of her is Jesus Christ. When she responded that she desires Christ as her lord and wishes to serve Him, an angel came from heaven and betrothed her with a ring as a sign that she had been received as the bride of Christ.⁴² After reporting the story, Martoni informs the reader that there is a church dedicated to St. Catherine on that island and that he was able to visit it, which suggests that the site served as a pilgrimage shrine. He also suggests that the story may be a local tradition as he does not remember whether it is mentioned in any of the manuscripts describing the life St. Catherine. His account, unfortunately, does not provide clear directions as to where the island was located; in the same passage it states that it was near Famagusta's harbor and two bowshots away from the city. Unfortunately, today all islands in the area are closed to the public due to political reasons and none of the past studies records any historic remains located on them. A valuable hint regarding the shrine's location, however, may be provided by local toponyms. Greek names of individual islands near Famagusta's harbor

40 Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle-East* (New York, 2008), 39.

41 Olympios, "Shared Devotions," 11.

42 Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 25.

are recorded in an unpublished study of Cypriot toponyms by Goodwin.⁴³ According to his analysis, the southernmost island of the harbor was known as Nisi tou Ierou which means either island of the old man (Ierou) or of the winds (Jieri). The former option can be regarded as a clear reference to the hermit living on the island from the story heard by Martoni. The association is even stronger because of all the three islands protecting Famagusta's harbor, Nisi tou Ierou is located furthest away from the medieval city which is most likely to correspond to the distance of two bowshots provided by Martoni. Furthermore, the current shore line protects the island from winds which makes the second name less fitting. It is worth noting that names of other islands in the bay also seem to derive from the medieval period; the central island for example was known as Oxen Island, Karavolos or Karaolos, which may indicate the location of slaughter houses in the time when Famagusta prospered.

Overall, the toponym evidence strongly suggests that the holy site mentioned by Martoni was located on the southernmost island of Famagusta's harbor. The fact that the religious tradition associated with the island is recorded by a Latin pilgrim and reflected by its Greek name also suggests that the site was venerated by more than one religious community in a manner similar to other shrines associated with St. Catherine in the area. The lack of material remains of the church on the site can be explained by its proximity to the harbor; the building was probably dismantled so that its stones could be used in the mainland Levant (particularly, during the construction of the Suez Canal). Structures close to the harbor were most affected by this practice as their stones could be easily loaded on ships. A good example of this is the complete destruction of the tower which once guarded the entrance to the harbor which is known to have been located on the northernmost island of the bay called "river snail" or Potamoudhou, probably in reference to a spring that was located on it. What little was left of the church of St. Catherine was probably destroyed during the construction of modern houses and yacht marina on the island.

7 Pilgrimage Sites of Famagusta: St. George of the Greeks

Other holy sites in Famagusta include the Greek cathedral of St. George and the earlier church of St. Epiphanius which was attached to the cathedral (fig. 3.6) and possessed the body of its Cypriot, patron saint. The relic is

43 Jack Goodwin, *A Historical Toponymy of Cyprus*, 4th ed., 2 vols. (Nicosia, 1984), 2:1198. I would like to thank Dr. Walsh for providing me with this rare and informative source.



FIGURE 3.6 The Greek cathedral of St George and the earlier church of St Epiphianos to which it was attached.

(PHOTO: TOMASZ BOROWSKI)

mentioned by a number of fourteenth century pilgrims, including Ludolf of Suchen, although only the account of Christopher Fürer from the third quarter of the sixteenth century provides its location within the city.⁴⁴ Nonetheless, the material evidence strongly suggests that the tomb was venerated in the church of St. Epiphianos at least since the mid-fourteenth century. The principal argument supporting this view is the architecture of St. George of the Greeks; the interior southern wall of the second bay of the southern aisle of the cathedral preserves a large gothic arch which frames an exposed fragment of a much older, eleventh-century wall of the church of St. Epiphianos (fig. 3.7). In the early twentieth century Jeffery noted that this arch had rings from which lamps could be suspended to provide light over the older wall in a manner resembling the lamps above the saint's sarcophagus in the church of St. Mammias in Morfu.⁴⁵ Thus, the exposed wall formed a focal point of a type of side chapel and the small window in its center allowed visual access into the first bay, counting from the east, of the church of St. Epiphianos. This arrangement

44 Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 78.

45 George Jeffery, "Byzantine Churches on Cyprus," *The Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* 29, no. 2 (1916): 129.



FIGURE 3.7 Eleventh century wall of the church of St Epiphаний exposed within the second bay of the southern aisle of the fourteenth century cathedral of St George of the Greeks.

(PHOTO: TOMASZ BOROWSKI)

can only be explained by the presence of an important relic which was located in the church of St. Epiphаний but could also be venerated from St. George of the Greeks. If this was the case, as Jeffery and Kaffenberger suggested, the tomb of St. Epiphаний must have been located in this spot at least since late 1360s when the new cathedral was constructed.⁴⁶

The fact that the relic of St. Epiphаний is mentioned in the accounts of Latin pilgrims indicates that it attracted both Greek and Latin devotees. Shared veneration of the site is also indicated by St. George's murals, particularly by depictions of six bishops in the central apse which present a novel combination of Greek and Latin ecclesiastical insignia: the episcopal figures wear Greek *polystavria phelonía*, but with Latin episcopal mitres. Paschali suggested that

⁴⁶ Thomas Kaffenberger, "Harmonizing the Sources: An Insight into the Appearance of the Hagios Georgios Complex at Various Stages of its Building History," in *The Harbour of All this Sea and Realm: Crusader to Venetian Famagusta*, eds. Michael Walsh, Tamás Kiss, and Nicholas Coureas (Budapest, 2014), 172.

the images may have functioned to unite Greek and Latin clergy in religious ceremonies that may have been concelebrated by two religious communities.⁴⁷ Latin veneration of St. Epiphanius should not be surprising given that the head of St. Epiphanius was kept as an important relic in the Latin cathedral in Nicosia.⁴⁸ The body of St. Epiphanius seems to have been divided into a number of parts as it has been shown that in the middle of the fourteenth century it was also venerated in a shrine located in the ruins of Salamis.⁴⁹

8 Pilgrimage Sites of Famagusta: St. Nicholas

The Latin cathedral of St. Nicholas in Famagusta also boasted its own collection of relics though none of them seems to have been as important as the body of St. Epiphanius. Reliquaries displayed in St. Nicholas are mentioned for example by Conrad Grünenberg, who visited Famagusta in 1486.⁵⁰ The location where they were kept cannot be deduced archaeologically as most likely they were stored together with other precious items in the sacristy, treasury, on altars, or within one of the highly decorated piscinas. One of the most precious possessions of the cathedral was the miracle-working icon of its patron saint, St. Nicholas, which was brought from Myra, where he was a bishop, after the city was raided by Cypriot forces in 1362.⁵¹ Its capture is described by Cypriot historian Leontios Machairas and formed part of a series of religious acquisitions which transferred holy icons from Asia Minor to Cyprus. Among them were two icons of St. Mary: one brought from Korykos in 1360 and another, believed to be painted by St. Luke himself, from Antalya in 1373.⁵² Before their transfer to Cyprus, these icons were venerated by local Orthodox Christians and visited by pilgrims from other religious communities; St. Mary from Antalya for example is described in the account of the pilgrimage of Ludolf of Suchen, while the icon from Korykos was believed to have restored the sight

47 Maria Paschali, "Negotiating Identities in Fourteenth Century Famagusta: St. George of the Greeks, the Liturgy and the Latins," in *Identity/Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus*, eds. Tassos Papacostas and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Nicosia, 2014), 284.

48 Olympios, "Shared Devotions," 5.

49 Kaffenberger, "Harmonizing the Sources," 172.

50 Gilles Grivaud, ed., *Excerpta Cypria Nova 1: Voyageurs occidentaux à Chypre au XVème siècle*, Sources et Études de l'Histoire de Chypre 15 (Nicosia, 1990), 124–127.

51 Franke, "St. Nicholas in Famagusta," 79.

52 Annemarie Weyl Carr, "The Holy Icons: A Lusignan Asset?" in *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, eds. Daniel Weis and Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore, 2004): 318.

of an important Muslim leader, the Turkish Great Karaman.⁵³ In this context it is very likely that the icon of St. Nicholas in the Latin cathedral in Famagusta was also venerated by more than one religious community although there is no direct evidence supporting this.

9 Pilgrimage Sites of Famagusta: Dominican Monastery

The third largest church in the city, most likely owned by the Dominicans, was also venerated by two religious communities. Its identification has caused considerable debate; some scholars follow Enlart's suggestion that it was dedicated to Ss. Peter and Paul and funded by the rich merchant Simon Nostrano in the 1360s.⁵⁴ The identification is based on the engraving of the siege of Famagusta by Gibellino from 1571 which marks the church of Ss. Peter and Paul not far from the spot where the church is preserved. Others suggested that the building was an orthodox church dedicated to St. Nicholas, the Dominican monastery or the church of the Nestorians.⁵⁵ The latter suggestion is based on the reported discovery in the 1930s of a Syriac inscription in its interior.⁵⁶ The text was subsequently believed to have been lost until it was rediscovered in 2014 by Bacci. According to his description it reads "gmar 'trsg d-yawnaye," that is "he completed (it in the year) 1663 of the Greeks."⁵⁷ The date refers to a Seleucid era that was used in the medieval period by all groups of Syrian Christians

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ The suggestion was first made in 1899 by Camille Enlart, *Gothic Art and Renaissance in Cyprus*, trans. and ed. David Hunt (London, 1987), 246. This suggestion was repeated, for example, by Rupert Gunnis *Historic Cyprus: A Guide to its Towns and Villages and Castles* (London, 1936), 96; Kevork Keshishian, *Famagusta Town and District Cyprus, A Survey of its People and Places from Ancient Times* (Limassol, 1985), 54; Philippe Plagnieux and Thierry Soulard, "Famagouste l'Église Saint-Pierre Saint Paul," *L'art gothique en Chypre*, eds. Jean-Bernard de Vaivre and Philippe Plagnieux, *Mémoires de l'académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 34 (Paris, 2006), 271–285; Langdale, *In a Contested Realm*, 341.

⁵⁵ The first two identifications were proposed by Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments*, 151, and Edbury, "Famagusta in 1300," 338, while the third was proposed by Theophilus Mogabgab, "Excavations and Researches in Famagusta 1937–39," in *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus 1937–1939* (Nicosia, 1951), 188, and supported by Thomas Boase, "The Arts in Cyprus. A. Ecclesiastical Art," in *A History of the Crusades, 4, The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. Harry Hazard (Madison, 1977), 177.

⁵⁶ Mogabgab, "Excavations and Researches in Famagusta 1937–39," 188.

⁵⁷ Michele Bacci, "Patterns of Church Decoration in Famagusta (Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries)," in *Famagusta Art and Architecture*, ed. Annemarie Weyl Carr (Turnhout, 2014), 227–228. I am thankful to Professor Bacci for providing me with information about his discovery.

including, Jacobites, Nestorians, Maronites and Melkites. The era begins with the death of Alexander the Great and the establishment of the Seleucid power in Syria. According to Bacci, the date in the Dominican church corresponds to 1351–1352. This suggests that some construction or decorative works must have been funded by the Syrians in the church in that time. The report is credible but nonetheless, the church was clearly a Latin structure. Its Latin affiliation is indicated by a Latin inscribed tomb-slab of a certain Pertin from 1310 discovered in its interior and coats of arms decorating the bosses of its rib vault.⁵⁸ Notably, a lion rampant with a sinister bend across it (fig. 3.8). This symbol is often identified as the coat of arms of the Lusignans although Jeffery, who recorded a similar lion on one of the stones in Famagusta's lapidarium and on the wall of the Franciscan church in Nicosia, admitted that the bend was a "curious" element added "for cadency."⁵⁹ The addition of the bend was a mark differentiating a member of the Lusignan family from the rulers of Cyprus. It was probably used for example by John, titular prince of Antioch and brother of King Peter I.⁶⁰ In the context of Famagusta, the most likely candidate who had the time, money and influence to have his coat of arms depicted in the vault of a major church was the usurper Amaury of Lusignan, titular lord of Tyre and brother of king Henry II who ruled Cyprus from 1306–1310. The dates correspond to the one on Pertin's tomb slab and allow identification of the church as the Dominican monastery constructed probably in the first decade of the fourteenth century and modeled on the churches of St. Andrew and St. John in Acre.⁶¹ The interpretation is strengthened further by the *Chronique d'Amadi* which records that the black friars' church in Famagusta was located near the royal palace, just as the preserved structure, and that Amaury was personally involved in the arrangement of the public spaces around it.⁶²

There is no evidence suggesting that the church underwent major reconstructions.⁶³ Nor is it likely that such a monumental edifice was transferred from Latin to Syrian control without leaving traces in the historical record. The

58 A drawing of Pertin's tomb-slab is provided by Enlart, *Gothic Art and Renaissance*, 362.

59 George Jeffery, "Heraldry of Cyprus," *Proceedings of the Societies of Antiquaries*, 2nd ser., 32 (1920): 207.

60 George Markou, *Heraldry on Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1979), 79.

61 For a description and analysis of crusader churches in Acre see Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus. Volume IV: The Cities of Acre and Tyre* (Cambridge, 2009), 63–68, 82–101.

62 Edbury, "Famagusta in 1300," 338.

63 Stephen Kemp, C. Gray, and George Ballard, *Church of Saints Peter and Paul Famagusta, Cyprus Measured Building Survey and Structural Assessment*, Final report for International Resources Group on behalf of Cyprus SAVE and USAID (unpublished 2008).



FIGURE 3.8 Coat of arms decorating the rib vault of the Dominican church in Famagusta: lion rampant with a sinister bend across it.

(PHOTO: TOMASZ BOROWSKI)

presence of a Syriac inscription in a Latin church indicates, therefore, that the two communities were involved in veneration at the same time. The Dominican church preserves a number of side chapels which may have been managed by non-Latin communities. The altars in these chapels preserve cavities intended for a deposition of relics.⁶⁴ This is important as their presence may have inspired two religious communities to pray inside the same building. The pilgrimage character of the Dominican church is also suggested by a fourteenth-century document issued during the reign of Pope Gregory XI which mentions that a cleric named Robert de Cosentia received indulgences for visiting and donating money for the upkeep of a Dominican chapel in Famagusta dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul.⁶⁵ Although the name may belong to some unknown building, it is more likely that it refers to one of the chapels inside the

64 Michele Bacci, "Side Altars and 'Pro Anima' Chapels in the Medieval Mediterranean: Evidence from Cyprus," in *Altar and Its Environment 1150–1400*, eds. Justin Kroesen and Victor Schmidt, *Studies in the Visual Cultures of the Middle Ages* 4 (Turnhout, 2009), 19–22.

65 Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1313–1378*, 352.

Dominican church where holy relics were kept.⁶⁶ It should also be noted that another document from Famagusta from 1301, records a Dimitrios who was a priest in a church dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul.⁶⁷ While this may just be a coincidence of names, given that there is no other early mention of a church with this dedication in Famagusta it is more likely that Dimitrios was a non-Latin priest officiating masses in the Dominican shrine which contained relics.

10 Pilgrimage Sites of Famagusta: Carmelite and Benedictine Monasteries

Another pilgrimage site owned by the Latins in the city was the Carmelite convent. Its church, dedicated to St. Mary, was a burial place of St. Peter Thomae (also known as St. Peter Thomas) who lived in the monastery for the last 4 years of his life. St. Peter Thomae was a Carmelite friar, papal legate, archbishop of Crete and titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople. The principal source concerning his life, as well as posthumous miracles and cult in Famagusta, is the *Life of St. Peter Thomae*, written shortly after his death in 1366 by Philip of Mézières who knew him personally. It is particularly important as one of the few sources mentioning numerous religious minority groups participating in the cult of a Latin saint and benefiting from its miracles. To list just a few examples, Philip recounts how one night when the saintly legate was prostrate in prayer, Armenians saw a flame from the sky coming down over his room.⁶⁸ The passage is particularly valuable as it shows that the author was familiar with the topography of Famagusta; the Armenian church is indeed the closest religious structure to the Carmelite monastery which suggests that Armenians were best positioned to see any miracles occurring there at night (fig. 3.9). Furthermore, the ecclesiastical process set to determine Peter's sanctity includes a testimony of a Nestorian woman, named Elisabeth, wife of Sagit, who stated under oath that on 17 April 1366 her body was afflicted by severe ague which was cured by the papal legate (by then deceased). He came to her during a vision because she possessed a relic associated with him: a piece of cloth stained

66 The identification of Sts. Peter and Paul as a Latin church belonging to the Dominican Order was recently supported in a very thorough study by Margit Mersch, "Hybridity in Late Medieval Architecture on Cyprus, and the Difficulties of Identifying Saints Peter and Paul of Famagusta," in *Identity/Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus*, eds. Tassos Papacostas and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Nicosia, 2014), 241–279.

67 Edbury, "Famagusta in 1300," 343.

68 Philippe de Mézières, *The Life of St. Peter Thomas*, trans. Joahim Smet, *Textus at studia Historica Carmelitana* (Rome, 1954), 82.



FIGURE 3.9 The Carmelite church (left) and the Armenian church (right) in Famagusta.
(PHOTO: TOMASZ BOROWSKI)

by his sweat.⁶⁹ Elisabeth was the only non-Latin witness during the process although the therapeutic properties of St. Peter's body are also said to have benefited a child of a Melkite couple and a Greek slave named Costas, albeit via the mediation of a Latin woman, Sibylla, who was a widow of Nicholas of Ancona and Costas' mistress.⁷⁰ During his life, St. Peter Thomae is recorded as leading a procession through the streets of Famagusta that was attended by Greeks, Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Georgians, Nubians, Indians and Ethiopians, all singing in their own languages, as well as Jews, Saracens and Turks. A similarly impressive list, including Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, Jacobites, Copts and Maronites is provided again, describing all the religious groups present at the legate's funeral where, according to Philip, they venerated the legate's body with bare heads even though this was contrary to their habits.⁷¹

Such laudatory accounts can easily be considered biased and part of Latin propaganda emphasizing the religious authority of Rome's representative in the east. Especially since some of the events in St. Peter's life, such as the multi-religious procession led by the legate through the streets of Nicosia, are not mentioned by the Greek Chronicler Leontios Machairas, who focused on the initial quarrels between the Carmelite friar and local Greek clergy.⁷² On

69 Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1313–1378*, 487–8.

70 Philippe de Mézières, *The Life of St. Peter Thomas*, 173–175.

71 Ibid. 155–166.

72 Shabel, "Religion," 159.

the other hand, multi-religious processions are known to have taken place a number of times in Nicosia since the mid-thirteenth century.⁷³ Makharias' account, therefore, can also be accused of being biased against a non-Cypriot cleric. However, the sources are clear that at the very least, the cult of St. Peter Thomae was intended to inspire veneration from non-Latin Christians. The testimony of the Nestorian woman Elisabeth suggests that these efforts were at least partially successful.

The presence of non-Latin pilgrims in the Carmelite church is also suggested by the small fresco depicting five donors above the southern doorway to its choir. Today only three of the figures are preserved and one of them is barely discernible, but fortunately the mural was recorded by Enlart in the late nineteenth century. According to his description, accompanied by a drawing, one of the depicted donors was a black African woman.⁷⁴ Unfortunately, the figure is no longer discernible though parts of it may still survive below the intrusive layer of white coating (fig. 3.10). Enlart's record, however, should be regarded as credible. He was a specialist art historian and it is unlikely that he misinterpreted the ethnic background of the depicted figure, especially since another female donor in the same fresco was described by him as "white." The difference between the two women included not only their complexion but also their attire; one is shown wearing a distinctively European hennin (steeple head dress) while the other has her head covered by a white veil, not unlike the white robes worn by Christian Nubian shepherds depicted on medieval frescoes in Dongola⁷⁵ or worn by pilgrims in modern Ethiopia. In this context it is also useful to compare the skin tone of the two preserved, male donors with the way they were depicted by Enlart. The figures on the mural have dark, brown skin suggesting their middle-eastern, perhaps Arab background, yet on the nineteenth-century drawing they are shown as being white. Therefore, if Enlart decided to identify and record the woman behind them differently, her skin must have originally been painted in even darker tones than that of other donors.

The dark skinned female donor may have been a Latin convert, a manumitted slave, a merchant or a refugee from the mainland Levant.⁷⁶ The fresco

73 Olympios, "Shared Devotions," 4.

74 Enlart, *Gothic Art and Renaissance*, 271.

75 Włodzimierz Godlewski, *Dongola – Ancient Tungul: Archaeological Guide* (Warsaw, 2013), 125. For broader discussion see Małgorzata Martens Czarnecka, *Nubia III, Dongola 3: The Wall Paintings from the Monastery on Kom H in Dongola* (Warsaw, 2011).

76 For discussion regarding the position of slaves and slave trade in Latin Cyprus see Benjamin Arbel, "Slave Trade and Slave Labor in Frankish Cyprus (1191–1571)," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 14, no. 2 (1993): 149–190.



FIGURE 3.10 Figures of donors depicted in the Carmelite church in Famagusta: nineteenth-century drawing (after Enlart, *Gothic art and Renaissance ...*, 271) and modern.

PHOTO (PHOTO: TOMASZ BOROWSKI)

may not depict actual donors but rather represent a propaganda message promoting the unity of different denominations of Christianity under Roman authority. However, the mural's small size and location within the choir as well as the fact that the life of St. Peter Thomae specifically mentions the presence of African Christians in the context of Famagusta's Carmelite monastery suggests it is very likely that the black skinned donor on the fresco was indeed a Christian from sub-Saharan Africa. Contacts between Europe and Nubia are attested by material evidence from Sudan such as the Catalan playing card discovered in Qasr Ibrim and the medieval Provençal-Catalan inscription left by a Latin pilgrim named Benesec in the pilgrimage church of St. Raphael

in Banganarti in Sudan.⁷⁷ Famagusta most likely served as a staging post for travellers such as Benesec. Interestingly, its rise as a commercial center coincided with the increased Muslim pressure on Christian Nubia resulting in the Mamluk sack of Dongola and conversion of the so called “Throne Hall” of the kings of Makuria into a mosque in 1317.⁷⁸ Nubian pilgrims praying in the Carmelite church therefore, may have been refugees.

The cult of St. Peter Thomae is also attested by a marble plaque discovered and pieced together during the excavations of the Carmelite church by Enlart in 1901.⁷⁹ The Latin inscription on the plaque, though partially lost, suggests that it recorded the establishment of a daily Mass officiated at dawn in commemoration of one of the miracles associated with St. Peter Thomae. Recently, Olympios has noticed that the upper left corner of this plaque is preserved to this day and was inaccurately classified as part of a funerary monument in the work edited by Imhaus.⁸⁰

The religious importance of the Carmelite monastery was also enhanced by its impressive collection of movable relics. Martoni recorded that during his visit there, he saw “the head of the blessed Ursula, very beautifully enshrined in silver, a bone of the chin of St. Leo the Pope, The head of St. Cufinus, The head of St. Sosius and a piece of the wood of the holy Cross of our Lord.”⁸¹ Interestingly, the church’s mural decoration does not include any scenes or saints that could be directly associated with those relics.

This disparity can be explained by the following hypothesis: Martoni’s account dates from 1394 when, according to his own description, one third of Famagusta had been depopulated after the Genoese sack of the city in 1373.⁸² With so many inhabitants gone, it ought to be assumed that a number of city’s churches may also have fallen out of use. It is possible therefore, that some of the relics possessed by the Carmelite monks in 1394 were transferred to them from one of the abandoned shrines. The most likely candidate is the nearby Benedictine church of St. Anne where one of the preserved frescoes depicts St. Ursula and the carved cross on its exterior wall with an inscription was interpreted by Plagnieux and Soulard as a sign that a fragment of the True Cross was once stored

77 Bogdan Żurawski, *Banganarti on the Nile* (Warsaw, 2014), 47.

78 Włodzimierz Godlewski, “Nubia, Egypt and Byzantium,” in *Perceptions of Byzantium and Its Neighbors (843–1261)*, ed. Olenka Pevny (New York, 2000), 172.

79 Camille Enlart, “Fouilles dans les églises de Famagouste de Chypre,” *The Archaeological Journal* 62 (1905): 200–201.

80 Olympios, “Shared Devotions,” 14. For a photograph of the preserved fragment of the plaque see Brunehilde Imhaus, *Lacrimae Cypriae: les larmes de Chypre. Volume 1: Catalogue et planches photographiques* (Nicosia, 2004), 252.

81 Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 23.

82 Ibid. 22.

inside.⁸³ Grigoryan has recently argued that the inscription accompanying the cross is written in Armenian and thus, that the cross was most likely carved by an Armenian believer which may indicated that the church was venerated by more than one religious community.⁸⁴ Furthermore, St. Anne preserves an unusual rectangular structure on its roof, covering a hole in its vault through which a precious item such as a holy relic, could be lowered and raised before its altar. The presence of important relics could also explain why early modern maps of Famagusta mark St. Anne as a Maronite church.⁸⁵ One explanation of this is that Maronites received the church after the Benedictine nuns left.⁸⁶ Relics, however, could inspire both communities to pray in the church simultaneously. Although none of these features alone can be considered conclusive, it is very likely that before 1373, the church of St. Anne possessed some of the relics listed by Martoni and served as a minor pilgrimage centre.

11 Pilgrimage Sites of Famagusta: The Armenian Church

The best documented pilgrimage site owned by one of the Christian communities from the mainland Levant is the Armenian church of Theotokos Kanch'uor. Although there is no evidence suggesting that Armenians in Famagusta possessed important relics or holy sites, Christians visiting their church were offered remission of penances for one year and one hundred days by the Papacy in the three papal letters from 1311, 1317 and 1318. The letter from 1317 mentions two Armenian churches in Famagusta: one dedicated to St. Mary and the other to St. Leonard, though Coureas argues that this is a scribal error and both parts of the text refer to Theotokos Kanch'uor.⁸⁷ The simple plan of the Armenian church in Famagusta follows the typical spatial arrangement of chapels in Cilician castles in Yilan, Savranda, Maran or Korykos while elements of its, recently beautifully restored, mural decoration, notably the military saint on the southern side of its western wall, identified as either Surp T'oros or St.

83 Philippe Plagnieux and Thierry Soulard, "Famagouste l'Église Sainte Anne (Bénédictines de Sainte-Anne de Jérusalem)," in *L'art gothique en Chypre*, eds. Jean-Bernard de Vaivre and Philippe Plagnieux, *Mémoires de l'académie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 34 (Paris, 2006), 261–265.

84 Gohar Grigoryan, "On the Interpretations of the Crosses Carved on the External Walls of the Armenian Church in Famagusta," in *The Armenian Church of Famagusta and the Complexity of Cypriot Heritage: Prayers Long Silent*, ed. Michael Walsh (Cham, 2017), 133.

85 Enlart, *Gothic art and Renaissance*, 274.

86 Michael Walsh and Allan Langdale, "A Short Report on Three Newly Accessible Churches in the Syrian Quarter of Famagusta," *Journal of Cyprus Studies* 13, no. 33 (2007): 105–123.

87 Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1313–1378*, 476.



FIGURE 3.11 Crosses carved on the exterior walls of the Armenian church in Famagusta.
(PHOTO: TOMASZ BOROWSKI)

George can be compared to the figure on horseback which has once adorned the west end of the south aisle of the church of T'oros I in Anavarza.⁸⁸ The pilgrimage site, therefore, displays close links to Cilicia and formed part of the Armenian medieval Diaspora spread across the medieval world from Armenia to Perugia in the west, Lviv to the north, Sohag to the south and Jolfa to the east.

The modest size of Theotokos Kanch'uor suggests that papal appeals promoting the site were not widely applauded but the numerous crosses carved on its walls suggest that pilgrims did visit Theotokos Kanch'uor (fig. 3.11). The numerous khač'kars decorating the exterior walls of the church resemble crosses carved on the walls of Armenian churches in Armenia, Jerusalem or Crimea. However, the number of crosses in Famagusta, together with their relatively simple designs and uneven distribution around the church, suggests that at least some of them were carved by visiting pilgrims in a manner similar to pilgrim's crosses carved on the walls of the chapel of St. Helena in the Holy Sepulcher.⁸⁹

88 For discussion regarding the architecture and decoration of the Armenian chapels in Cilicia see Robert Edwards, "Ecclesiastical Architecture in the Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36 (1982): 159–176. For discussion regarding the recently restored murals in the Armenian church in Famagusta see Michele Bacci "The Painted Program of the Armenian Church in Light of Recent Discoveries," in *The Armenian Church of Famagusta and the Complexity of Cypriot Heritage: Prayers Long Silent*, ed. Michael Walsh (Cham, 2017), 99–124. Older works include: Michele Bacci, "The Armenian Church in Famagusta and its Mural Decoration: Some Iconographic Remarks," *Hask hayagitakan taregirk' 11* (2009): 489–508; Dickran Kouymjian, "The Holy Mother of God Armenian Church in Famagusta," in *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta: Studies in Architectural Art and History*, eds. Michael Walsh, Peter Edbury, and Nicholas Coureas (Farnham, 2012), 133–146.

89 For a detailed study of the crosses carved on the walls of the Armenian church, see Grigoryan, "On the Interpretations," 125–142.

12 Pilgrimage Sites of Famagusta: Unidentified Church

The principal unidentified church which almost certainly served as a pilgrimage centre is the shrine excavated in 1936 by Mogabgab.⁹⁰ Although it is one of the least preserved medieval structures in the city, with only the outline of its foundations exposed above the ground, its architecture suggests that in the time of its use in the fourteenth century, the church housed an important relic or holy site that was venerated by numerous religious communities. According to Mogabgab's report, the church had two altars: one in its central apse and the second in the southern one. This suggests that the religious space in the building was shared by two religious communities in a manner similar to the two altar niches in St. Mary de la Cava or, recorded two altars in the church commemorating the birthplace of St. Catherine in the ruins of Salamis. The practice of sharing religious sites between two religious communities was no uncommon in medieval Cyprus (other examples also include the three-aisled church of St. Lazarus in Salines/Larnaca). Olympios, however, pointed out that the presence of two altars should not be regarded as a definite sign that the building was used by two religious groups.⁹¹ The second altar could have served as a side altar or chapel associated with the performance of private liturgy.⁹²

The pilgrimage character of the church excavated by Mogabgab, however, is additionally indicated by the cavern discovered beneath it. The underground chamber below the church, cleared during the excavations, had two entrances: one allowing access from the interior of the church and the other leading directly outside. This typical arrangement was applied in a number of medieval structures encompassing major holy sites in the mainland Levant such as Mount Tabor, with its cave of Transfiguration, Bethany, with its cave containing the place of St. Lazarus' resurrection, or Abu Gosh, with its cave with a holy spring.⁹³ Its principal advantage is that it allows pilgrims to enter the chamber where holy site or relic was located and pray in its proximity, even when other parts of the church are closed. The route taken by pilgrims visiting

90 Theophilus Mogabgab, "An Unidentified Church in Famagusta," *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus 1936* (Nicosia, 1939), 89–96.

91 Olympios, "Shared Devotions," 6–7.

92 For wider discussion see Thomas Mathews, "Private' Liturgy in Byzantine Architecture: Toward a Re-appraisal," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 30 (1982): 125–38.

93 For discussion see Denys Pringle, "The Planning of Some Pilgrimage Churches in Crusader Palestine," *World Archaeology* 18, no. 3 (1987): 341–362; Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus. Volume 1: A-K (Excluding Acre and Jerusalem)* (Cambridge, 1993), 7–17, 122–137; Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus. Volume 11: L-Z (Excluding Tyre)* (Cambridge, 1998), 63–80.

the grotto in Famagusta therefore did not collide with the daily routine of the religious communities which managed the site and could access the grotto via the second door directly from the church. If the cavern's function was merely that of a crypt, the second door would not be needed. Unfortunately it is uncertain what relic or holy site was venerated in the church, nor is it known which of the religious groups living in Famagusta controlled it. The building's location in the Syrian neighborhood and Byzantine elements of its plan, such as the central dome supported by four columns, may suggest that it was built for the Melkites, that is Christians from Syria who followed the Byzantine rite.

13 Pilgrimage Sites of Famagusta: Our Lady of Compassion and Limitations

The example of the unidentified church excavated by Mogabgab demonstrates the limitations of the available evidence concerning pilgrimage sites in Famagusta. As a result, the presented list of sites cannot be regarded as exhaustive. There are hints suggesting that other churches preserved in the city may also have served as pilgrimage sites. The extramural, underground church located near the north-western corner of the city for example, has a well inside which even today is filled with water and could have been used as a source of holy water in a manner similar to the spring in the pilgrimage church in Abu Gosh. The shrine can be identified with the Latin church of Our Lady of Compassion which is mentioned in the petition submitted to Pope Urban v on the 30th of May 1363 by John of Tyre. The text recalls how John constructed a chapel in honor of Our Lady of Compassion outside the city of Famagusta during a time of plague.⁹⁴ The shrine was most likely visited by St. Peter Thomae who walked there barefoot soon before his death and it may have enjoyed the status of a minor pilgrimage site associated with him.⁹⁵ The memory of the site's religious importance was preserved by local Greek community even after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus. According to a nineteenth-century tradition a certain spot near the place where the church was discovered was visited and venerated by local Greek as well as Turkish (!)

94 Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1313–1378*, 452.

95 The life of St. Peter records how, soon before his death, the saintly legate walked barefoot to an underground church located outside the walled town of Famagusta. Given that the church identified here as dedicated to Our Lady of Compassion is the closest extramural church to the Carmelite monastery and is the only Latin church in the area it can be assumed that Peter Thomas walked there rather than to the more distant St. Mary de la Cava. For a full account see Philippe de Mézières, *The Life of St. Peter Thomas*, 160–180.

mothers.⁹⁶ The folk-memory may indicate that at the time of its use, Our Lady of Compassion also inspired veneration from both Latins and Greeks, especially since it seems to have been a Latin edifice located in an area inhabited predominantly by Greeks. Such indications, however, cannot be regarded as decisive evidence. Similarly, the name of the fifteenth-century church of Aya Zoni, indicating that the shrine was dedicated to the sacred girdle of the Virgin Mary offered by her to St. Thomas, may suggest that a piece of this sacred relic was stored inside.⁹⁷ The underground church of St. Mary of Bethlehem or of the Nativity, depending on the source, could also claim links with the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem; especially since it is half built, and half cut into the rock, in a manner similar to the holy grotto where Jesus is said to have been born.⁹⁸ The association seems to have been deliberate and may have attracted pious Christians to pray inside and support the church with donations. However, these associations are insufficient to securely identify the site as a pilgrimage center.

Conversely, historical sources mention a number of churches containing relics in Famagusta which cannot be identified with any of the structures preserved in the city. These include for example the church and hospital of St. Stephen where, according to Martoni, the bones of St. Stephen as well as some other relics were kept.⁹⁹ Another example is the church and monastery of Our Lady of Tortosa for the visiting of which pilgrims were granted indulgences in 1318.¹⁰⁰ The convent must have been related to the Latin cathedral of Tortosa which was a pilgrimage site with particularly close ties to Famagusta, but again it is uncertain where this monastery was located within the city.¹⁰¹

14 Concluding Remarks

Despite these limitations, the presented list of identified pilgrimage sites allows broader interpretation regarding the nature of inter-cultural contact in Famagusta and the role of religion in the shaping of social relations within

⁹⁶ Mogabgab, "An Unidentified Church," 96.

⁹⁷ Langdale, *In a Contested Realm*, 393.

⁹⁸ The dedication of the church is briefly discussed by Catherine Otten-Froux, "Notes sur quelques monuments de Famagouste à la fin du Moyen Age," in *Mosaic Festschrift for A. H. S. Megaw*, eds. Judith Herrin, Margaret Mullett and Catherine Otten-Froux, British School at Athens Studies Supplement 8 (London, 2001), 145–154.

⁹⁹ Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 23.

¹⁰⁰ Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1313–1378*, 300.

¹⁰¹ For discussion regarding institutional links between Tortosa and Famagusta see Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1195–1312* (Aldershot, 1997), 57–73.

the city. The development of Famagusta as a major urban center was accompanied by the establishment of a network of new pilgrimage sites associated with it. This is indicated by the fact that all of the identified sites, with the possible exception of the shrine of St. Epiphánios, can be dated to the first three quarters of the fourteenth century, which correlates to the period of Famagusta's growth. In this sense, the city was no different from other new urban centers established by the crusaders such as Château Pèlerin in the Levant or Elbląg in the Baltic, which also promoted new pilgrimage shrines associated with them.¹⁰² However, the number of newly created pilgrimage shrines in Famagusta surpasses that of any other newly established crusader city which may reflect the city's unusually large size and religious diversity. It is also possible that some of the relics venerated in Famagusta were transported to the city from Acre by refugees fleeing the capital of the kingdom of Jerusalem. The main reason why the network of pilgrimage sites expanded so rapidly is that relics and holy sites responded to a number of needs of the developing, diverse urban society.

On a global scale, it positioned Famagusta within the wider framework of Christian cultural geography. It integrated the city with the network of pilgrimage routes between Europe, Asia and Africa and made it more familiar to both its inhabitants and visitors. The latter point is particularly important as it applies not only to Latins but also to adherents of other denominations of Christianity. Associations with widely recognized saints like St. Catherine and promotion of new, local holy sites rooted the city in the wider Christian tradition. It also helped in the maintaining of Diasporas present in the city, particularly the Armenian community. It facilitated Famagusta's growth by attracting visitors, merchants as well as pilgrims and potential settlers, and could potentially facilitate the formation of local identities.

The exact role of pilgrimage centers within the city, however, is difficult to assess. It is unclear whether pilgrims visiting Famagusta were offered a set itinerary of local pilgrimage sites, which seems to have been the case in crusader Acre, or whether the identified shrines formed a group of competing religious

¹⁰² For discussion concerning new pilgrimage shrines associated with Château Pèlerin see Cedric Norman Johns, *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit), David's Tower (Jerusalem), and Qal'atar-Rabad ('Ajlun): Three Middle Eastern Castles from the Time of the Crusades*, ed. Denys Pringle, Variorum Collected Studies Series 579 (Aldershot, 1997), 16. For an example from Elbląg, see Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders 1128–1291* (Leicester, 1993), 118.

centers.¹⁰³ In this context, the most striking observation of the analysis is that 13 out of 14 identified holy sites were venerated by more than one religious community. In a society as diverse as Famagusta's, characterized by the absence of internal divisions or fortifications, the most likely interpretation of this is that pilgrimage centers facilitated inter-religious and inter-cultural contact between different communities inhabiting the city. The distribution of holy sites across the layout of Famagusta is surprisingly balanced. The main gap in the network is the south-west corner of the city where, according to Gibellino's engraving of Famagusta, the "zuecha," that is the area of the town inhabited by the Jewish community, was located. Each neighborhood of Famagusta had its own religious centers that were broadly aligned along the two main routes of the city connecting it with Nicosia in the east and Karpas to the north. This not only made them easy to access but also promoted movement patterns integrating the different parts of the city together. Holy sites formed important points of reference in the religious landscape of the city. Their presence provided *raison de entrée* for a visit in a given neighborhood and familiarized foreign visitors with both the area where it was located and the community that managed it. It also served as a source of revenue, not only from donations but also from the traffic attracted by the shrine which benefited the whole neighborhood. The case is well illustrated by the pilgrimage route of St. Catherine which connected the harbor of Famagusta with the city's hinterland. The most frequently mentioned church in this route; St. Mary de la Cava, is located outside of the walled town along the route to Nicosia even though, according to Jacobus of Verona, the shrine was particularly popular among sailors. We are told that "everyone who lands [in the harbor] goes there forthwith" which suggests that the church attracted Christians arriving in Famagusta from the sea to venture into the city all the way through to its hinterland.¹⁰⁴ The connection facilitated distribution of wealth from the harbor into the city and formed a link between the religiously diverse, urban environment and the countryside dominated by the Greeks. To some extent, a similar role may have been played by other extra mural pilgrimage sites located along the northern road between Famagusta and Karpas: namely Our Lady of Compassion and the birthplace and prison of St. Catherine. In the same time, those who had no permission, time or money

¹⁰³ The existence of a set itinerary followed by pilgrims visiting Acre is indicated by a document known as *Pelrinages et Pardouns de Acre*. For broader discussion, see Fabio Romanini and Beatrice Saletti, *I Pelrinages communes, i Pardouns de Acre e la crisi del regno crociato: storia e testo* (Padova, 2012).

¹⁰⁴ For full account of Jacobus' stay in Famagusta see Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 16.

to venture inside the city could still visit and make a donation to the shrine of St. Catherine located on one of the islands in the harbor.

The unifying potential of holy sites, however, should not be overestimated. Pilgrimage churches could be used both to extend influence and authority of one religious community over the other and to oppose it. The latter case is exemplified by the cathedral of St. George of the Greeks which was decorated with inscriptions celebrating the fifth ecumenical council held in Constantinople in 553 which was held by the eastern Roman emperor without the assent of the Pope in Rome.¹⁰⁵ After the council, pope Vigilius wrote a letter to the emperor and confessed that he should not have opposed the council and accepted its wisdom. The event therefore marks the autonomy of the Church in Constantinople and shows Latin clergy admitting its wrongdoing. The statement was additionally complemented by the exposed fragment of the eleventh-century wall of the church of St. Epiphanius which predated the Latin conquest of Cyprus. The former situation is perhaps demonstrated by the cult of St. Peter Thomae who is known to have confronted Greek Cypriots over their religious practices and attempted to “make them Latin,” as the Greek chronicler Leontios Machairas noted.¹⁰⁶ Also, it is not certain whether sites that were venerated by more than one religious community were open to all religious groups in the city or not. The position of Jacobites and Nestorians within the pilgrimage network for example is unclear as the study was unable to identify a single holy site owned by them.

To an extent, however, all of the Christian communities living in Famagusta were involved in the cult of relics, as suggested by the account of Philip of Mézières as well as the Syriac inscription in the Dominican church and Middle Eastern commemoration practices recorded near the prison of St. Catherine. Although shared pilgrimage sites may not always have inspired unity, their presence in the religious landscape of Famagusta provided a platform of communication between different religious groups active in the area. Thus, veneration of holy sites provided the setting for inter-cultural contact, exchange of ideas and expression of identity which channeled the social tensions that threatened the integrity of Famagusta’s urban society. While there is little evidence that such forms of interaction necessarily led to the formation of new, hybrid identities and fusion of artistic styles known from Norman Sicily or Spain, there are hints suggesting that newcomers from Europe found it challenging. A good example of this is St. Birgitta of Sweden who sailed to Famagusta from Italy in 1372 and was shocked to find Christian denominations opposed to the

¹⁰⁵ Langdale, *In a Contested Realm*, 387.

¹⁰⁶ Shabel, “Religion,” 157–160.

Latin church practiced so openly on the city's streets. She confronted local Latin clergy as well as Greeks and proclaimed that God has revealed to her that "this city is Gomorrah, burning with the fire of lust and excess and ambition. Therefore, its structures shall fall, and it shall be left desolate and reduced. Its inhabitants will migrate, sighing in pain and distress, and fade away. Its shame will be spoken of in many lands, for I am enraged with them."¹⁰⁷ A radically different impression is conveyed in the sixteenth-century chronicle of a local Cypriot Dominican, Etienne de Lusignan, who praised the multi-religious character of Cypriot cities and proclaimed that "it is really beautiful to see so many people belonging to different religions and so many groups of Christians with different denominations and rites."¹⁰⁸ Such an attitude is particularly surprising from a Dominican, as the order has a record of confronting heresy since the time of its foundation during the Albigensian Crusade in southern France. This study has shown that the vision of unity praised by Etienne and condemned by Birgitta is simplistic and does not reflect the complex nature of inter-religious interaction in Famagusta. They demonstrate, however, how different the habitus of the city was from that of metropolises in Western Europe and the important role that was played in it by pilgrimage sites.

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¹⁰⁷ Saint Birgitta of Sweden, *The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden. Volume 3: Liber Caelestis*, trans. David Searby (Oxford, 2012), 161.

¹⁰⁸ Shabel, "Religion," 161.

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Adaptations of the Roman *Lex Aquilia* in the Burgess Assizes of Jerusalem

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The Assizes of Jerusalem are a collection of legal treatises written by several different authors in the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus in the thirteenth century. For the most part, they were written by specific authors at specific dates, but one text, the assizes of the *cour des bourgeois* (or the burgess assizes), was written or compiled by an unknown author. Historians have long wondered who this author/compiler was, whether he was trained in the law, and what sources he may have used. One particular focus of research into the origins of the burgess assizes is the influence of ancient Roman law. According to the historian of crusader legal institutions Joshua Prawer, the Roman influence on the burgess assizes could be due to borrowing from *Lo Codi*, a twelfth-century Provençal legal text that was itself based on Roman law, and which may have been the source for many chapters of the burgess assizes.

It is certainly true that Roman law had an influence on the assizes, but the specific way that it is incorporated into the assizes of the burgess court suggests that the author or the compiler of this text may have been a jurist trained in Roman law in Europe, and was not simply copying from *Lo Codi* or any other medieval legal text. Roman law was used in Jerusalem to deal with situations that were relevant to both Roman and crusader society, but with adaptations and innovations intended to reflect the context of the medieval Latin east. The Roman *Lex Aquilia*, a third-century BCE law dealing with damage to property, can be used to show how the author of the burgess assizes adapted Roman law to reflect the society of thirteenth-century Jerusalem. An examination of the use of Roman law in the burgess assizes may furthermore help us learn more about the identity of the otherwise anonymous author.

There are two distinct collections of crusader law: the assizes of the High Court and the assizes of the burgess court.¹ Those of the High Court were

1 Scholarship on the two courts and the different sets of assizes dates back to Auguste-Arthur Beugnot's introductions to the texts published in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Lois*, vols. 1 and 2 (Paris, 1841–1843). The standard works on the laws and institutions of the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus are Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom*

written for the Latin Catholic nobility, and deal with such issues as, among other things, ownership and inheritance of fiefs, services owed to landowners and other “feudal” laws, criminal laws such as murder and assault, and how to plead a case before the court. There are numerous surviving texts of the assizes of the High Court. The earliest is the anonymous *Livre au Roi*, dating from the early 13th century.² The other texts were all written later in the 13th century, by members of the Ibelin family or their supporters: the lengthy texts written by John of Ibelin³ and Philip of Novara,⁴ and smaller collections of assizes written by Geoffrey le Tor⁵ and James of Ibelin.⁶ The burgess court had its own set of assizes, written (or compiled) by an anonymous author, also in the mid-13th century.⁷ The burgess court had jurisdiction over anyone in the kingdom who was not a Catholic aristocrat, including the non-noble western Catholic inhabitants, eastern Christians, Muslims, Jews, merchants, tradesmen, serfs, and slaves; it sometimes also had jurisdiction over the nobility and clergy, if they owned real property that was not attached to a fief or was not held “in alms” by the church. Also under the jurisdiction of the burgess court was the “market court”, which heard commercial cases involving non-Catholics, although serious crimes and any crime committed by a non-Catholic against a Catholic would be heard in the main burgess court.

The ultimate origins of the burgess assizes have been the object of study since their publication in the *Receuil des historiens des croisades* in 1843. Were they derived from similar legal codes in Europe, or were they simply created by the Latin settlers in the east, based on unwritten customs and traditions from

of Jerusalem, 1174–1277 (London, 1973), and Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980). The most recent work on the burgess assizes specifically is Marwan Nader, *Burgesses and Burgess Law in the Latin Kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus (1099–1325)* (Aldershot, 2006). Still useful, though now superseded by Riley-Smith and Prawer, is John L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1932).

² *Le Livre au roi*, ed. Myriam Greilsammer (Paris, 1995).

³ John of Ibelin, *Livre des Assises*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Leiden, 2003).

⁴ Philip of Novara, *Le Livre de forme de plait*, ed. and trans. Peter W. Edbury (Nicosia, 2009).

⁵ Geoffrey le Tor, *Livre de Geoffroi le Tor*, ed. Beugnot, in *RHC Lois*, vol. 1.

⁶ James of Ibelin, *Livre de Jacques d'Ibelin*, ed. Beugnot, in *RHC Lois*, vol. 1.

⁷ *Les Livres des Assises et des Usages dou Reaume de Jerusalem sive Leges et Instituta Regni Hierosolymitani*, ed. Édouard H. Kausler (Stuttgart, 1839). There is some disagreement over the date the burgess assizes. Beugnot believed they were written in the twelfth century before the fall of Jerusalem (*RHC Lois* II, introduction, xxxvii), while Riley-Smith suggested a date as late as the 1260s (*Feudal Nobility*, 69). The generally accepted date is sometime in the mid-thirteenth century, probably while Jerusalem was under Frankish control between 1229 and 1244 (Maurice Grandclaude, *Étude critique sur les Livres des assises de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1932), 66–69; La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, 30; Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 366–367; Nader, *Burgesses and Burgess Law*, 50–53).

Europe and from their own experiences? Or was it rather some combination of the two? In fact there is likely no single source for crusader law in general, although in certain specific instances, we can see direct or indirect influence from one source or another. One source that had a clear influence on the burgess assizes is Roman law.

That the burgess assizes are influenced by Roman law should come as no surprise. Indeed, they begin with a quotation from Justinian's *Institutes* on the nature of justice.⁸ This Roman connection has also long been recognized by historians of crusader law. Hans Prutz thought that the Franks borrowed Roman law from the native Greek Christians, who must have still used it in the form of Byzantine law.⁹ John L. La Monte also believed the burgess assizes were a mix of Roman laws from eastern and western sources, and that the crusaders must have adopted laws that their new subjects had already been using for centuries.¹⁰ More recently, Benjamin Kedar has argued that there was some Byzantine influence on crusader law, at least in the very early period when the Franks (as the crusader settlers called themselves) promulgated their first legal code at the Council of Nablus in 1120.¹¹

But the canons of Nablus did not have much, if any, influence on the thirteenth-century assizes, and the Franks do not seem to have interacted with their subjects to such an extent that they borrowed laws from them. The Roman influence on Frankish law must have come from the crusaders' homelands in Europe. Maurice Grandclaude noted that the burgess court kept a register of cases, which he thought was a typical feature of Roman law adapted into medieval law, although this register was not created until 1251.¹² In Grandclaude's opinion, the author or compiler of the burgess assizes was familiar with Roman law, but was not an expert, and either did not understand it or used it incorrectly.¹³

Joshua Prawer agreed that the creation of a register in 1251 was significant, and noted that by that point in the thirteenth century, there were certainly notaries and other legal professionals in the kingdom who had been trained in

8 Kausler, ed., Ch. 1, "justicia est constans et perpetua voluntas, ius suum cuique tribuens". This is a quotation, and the rest of the chapter is effectively a gloss, of the first chapter of the *Institutes*; *Justiniani Institutiones*, ed. Paul Krüger (Berlin, 1867), I.i.

9 Hans Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1883), 347–348.

10 La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, xx, 101 n. 5, 111.

11 Benjamin Z. Kedar, "On the origins of the earliest laws of Frankish Jerusalem: the canons of the Council of Nablus," *Speculum* 74 (1999): 313–323. See also Hans E. Mayer, "The Concordat of Nablus," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33 (1982): 531–543.

12 Grandclaude, *Étude critique sur les livres des assises de Jérusalem*, 67.

13 *Ibid.*, 123–125.

the law in the universities of Europe.¹⁴ James Brundage identified numerous “masters” trained in canon law, and likely also Roman law, who were present in the kingdom as early as the mid-twelfth century. Many more of them were present in the kingdom in the thirteenth century, at the same time the assizes were probably written.¹⁵ One of these masters, John of Ancona, wrote treaties on canon and feudal law while living in the kingdom, although his works were written in the 1260s, somewhat later than the burgess assizes.¹⁶ A generation later, court documents on the Kingdom of Cyprus were full of references to Roman law, thanks to the work of notaries trained in Roman law such as Lamberto di Sambuceto.¹⁷

People with the necessary knowledge of the law were, therefore, living and working in the crusader kingdom shortly after the assizes were written, and it would be easy to speculate that they were also present earlier in the thirteenth century and somehow influenced the assizes. But how exactly did this occur? Prawer was the first to suggest a specific source of Roman law and a route of transmission into the burgess assizes. He argued that burgesses, merchants, and other urban settlers from the south of France and from Italy brought Roman law with them. If they were not legal scholars themselves, they would at least have been well aware of the revival of Roman law that was taking place in Ravenna, Bologna, and Sicily during this period in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁸

The specific source cited by Prawer was a twelfth-century Provençal law book, *Lo Codi*, which was written around 1149 and later translated into Catalan and Latin. According to Prawer, the author/compiler of the burgess assizes used *Lo Codi* as a source for laws especially concerning marriage and dowries, as well as for the overall organization of the assizes.¹⁹ Brundage also recognized that the assizes concerning marriage used basic principles from Roman and canon law.²⁰ In total, Prawer noted 63 chapters in the burgess assizes that

¹⁴ Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 290–292.

¹⁵ James A. Brundage, “Latin jurists in the Levant: the legal elite of the Crusader States”, in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller (Leiden, 1993), 21.

¹⁶ Jonathan Rubin, “John of Ancona’s *Summae*: A neglected source for the juridical history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,” *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 29 (2011–12): 185–186.

¹⁷ Marwan Nader, “Courts of non-noble jurisdiction and laws of Roman provenance in fourteenth-century Famagusta,” *Crusades* 15 (2016): 135–136.

¹⁸ Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 385–390.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 362.

²⁰ James Brundage, “Marriage law in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,” in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem, Presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, H.E. Mayer, R.C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982), 261.

were taken from the Latin translation of *Lo Codi*, and 59 others that were probably inspired by it.²¹

However, more recently, Marwan Nader has downplayed the significance of *Lo Codi*, in particular because, contrary to what Prawer argued, the burgess assizes are actually organized differently and are not a direct translation of *Lo Codi*.²² *Lo Codi* may have inspired some of the chapters, but there must be another source, or several sources, for the rest of the assizes.

In fact, some of the chapters of the burgess assizes seem to have been taken not from any other medieval treatise, but directly from Roman law as compiled by the emperor Justinian in the sixth century. To illustrate this, we can examine one section of the burgess assizes that deals with property damage, and especially with damage to slaves, who formed a special category of property in both Roman and crusader law. The few chapters in the burgess assizes about damage to slaves are very close to a particular Roman law, the *Lex Aquilia*, which dates back to the era of the Roman Republic, probably to the third century BCE.²³

In its original formulation, the *Lex Aquilia* simply stated that property owners would be compensated for damage to their property. It was quite vague and difficult to understand, even in the Republican period. This vagueness allowed later jurists to expand its scope to cover other types of disputes involving any sort of property.²⁴ The *Lex Aquilia* itself did not survive as an independent piece of legislation, but commentaries on it by later jurists of the Roman Empire were included in the legal texts published by the Christian emperor Justinian in the sixth century. The law is defined in the *Digest* of Justinian, drawing from the commentaries of imperial Roman jurists such as Ulpian, Gaius, Paulus, and Alfenus; these jurists all accepted that the legislation had something to do with damage to property, and gave a vast multitude of cases where it may or may not have applied.²⁵ Their commentaries and opinions were then quoted by medieval legal texts, including the assizes of Jerusalem and *Lo Codi*. It would be tempting to say that, following Prawer, the assizes simply borrowed the *Lex Aquilia* from *Lo Codi*, but it is not so simple. In Jerusalem, the Franks adopted, and adapted, the *Lex Aquilia* into their own law in a way that is quite different from the way that *Lo Codi* used it.

21 Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 372–377.

22 Nader, *Burgesses and Burgess Law*, 56–57.

23 Adolf Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 43, pt. 2 (Philadelphia, 1953), 547.

24 Bruce W. Frier, *A Casebook on the Roman Law of Delict* (Atlanta, 1989), 3.

25 *Iustiniani Digesta*, ed. Theodor Mommsen and Paul Krüger (Berlin, 1872), 9.2.

Three examples of laws from the burgess assizes can be used to illustrate the relationship between crusader law and the *Lex Aquilia*. The first is Chapter 231, which deals with slaves who die because of the actions of an incompetent doctor:

...If it happens by some chance that I wound one of my male or female slaves, or any other person wounds him, and I summon a doctor ... and it happens afterwards that [the doctor] cuts him badly, or he cuts him even though he should not be cut, and because of this [the slave] dies ... this doctor should compensate for this male or female slave, by law, as much as [the slave] was worth on the day he was wounded, or for as much as the person who owns him paid for him, for this is right and reasonable according to the assizes...²⁶

This assize is actually much longer, going into excessive detail about the different kinds of injuries that might happen to a slave or a free person, and the different treatments that a doctor could perform. Prawer suggested that the author/compiler had a particular interest in medicine and may have been showing off his knowledge.²⁷ It is also possible that the author was listing the sorts of illnesses and injuries that would have been frequently encountered in crusader Jerusalem, such as intestinal or urinal diseases (which are used as an example in all the assizes dealing with doctors), and broken or fractured bones.²⁸ At first glance, this assize appears somewhat out of place, as it is found among laws dealing with damage to immovable property and animals; however, it is in a logical spot when we remember that in Roman and medieval law, slaves had essentially the same status as any other property and could suffer the same damages.²⁹ In this case, the damage could be caused by a doctor. The core of the assize states that if a slave dies or is maimed by the actions of the doctor, the doctor must pay compensation for the slave. It then goes on to

26 Kausler, ed., Ch. 231. "...Cil avient par aucune mesaventure que ie naffre I mien serf ou serve, ou aucune autre persone le naffre, et ie i ameine I miege ... et il avient puis que il le taille malement, ou por ce que ne devet estre taille, et il le tailla, et por ce il morut ... celuy miege deit amender le serf ou la serve, par dreit, tant come il valet au ior que il fu naffre, ou tant come il lacheta celuy de cui il esteit, car ce est dreit et raison par lassise...."

27 Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 368. See also Susan Edgington, "Medicine and surgery in the *Livre des Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois de Jérusalem*," *Al-Masaq* 17 (2005): 87–108.

28 Piers Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades: Warfare, Wounds, and the Medieval Surgeon* (Cambridge, 2004), 66, 116–117.

29 Edgington, "Medicine and surgery," 88–90.

explain what should happen to the doctor if the patient is a Christian, with various punishments depending on the circumstances.³⁰

Chapter 231 matches the statement of the Roman jurist Proculus, quoted in the *Digest*, that a doctor who injured a slave could be punished under the *Lex Aquilia*.³¹ The same situation is mentioned in book 3 of both the Latin and Provençal versions of *Lo Codi*,³² but the *Lo Codi* versions are otherwise not very similar to the crusader assizes. They follow ancient Roman law much more closely than the burgess assizes do. Here it seems that the authors of *Lo Codi* and the burgess assizes both looked directly to Roman law as an inspiration, and not that the burgess assizes copied *Lo Codi*, as Prawer argued may have happened for other chapters. The author of the burgess assizes took the concept of the *Lex Aquilia* and added his own examples to it, leaving us with something of a medieval commentary on an ancient law that reflected the particular circumstances of Frankish Jerusalem.

The second example, Chapter 233 of the burgess assizes, also deals with the death of a slave, but in this case caused by the actions of a competent doctor:

...Likewise if one of my slaves is sick with leprosy or dry skin or any other sickness, and I come to a doctor and make an agreement with him that if he cures him, half of what he will be paid will be his and the other half will go to the lord who [sold] him, and the doctor takes him into his care and does what he knows, but it is worthless, so that the slave dies, the law judges that because of this the doctor is not obliged to pay a fine, because firstly he lost his labour, and everything he should be paid for it, and this is right and lawful according to the assize...³³

Like Chapter 231, this assize is actually a lengthy digression on medical practise, with detailed examples of different kinds of diseases and treatments.

30 For a discussion of the medical aspects of this assize, and the licensing of doctors in the Latin East, see Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades*, 222–231.

31 Dig. 9.2.7.7.

32 Hermann Fitting and Hermann Suchier, *Lo Codi: Eine Summa Codicis in provenzalischer Sprache aus der Mitte des XII. Jahrhunderts* (Halle, 1906), 3.37.3 (Provençal version); Hermann Fitting, *Lo Codi, in der lateinischen Übersetzung des Ricardus Pisanus herausgegeben* (Halle, 1906), 3.31 (Latin version).

33 Kausler, ed., Ch. 233. "...Encement si ie ai I mien esclaf malade de meselerie ou de roigne seche ou daucune autre maladie, et ie viens a I miege et li fais convenant que cil le garisse, la moitie de ce que il sera vendus sera sien et lautre de son seignor qui la achete, et celuy miege le prent en cure et i fait ce que il sait, mais ne vaut riens, que celuy meurt: la raison iuge que de ce fait nest point tenus par dreit le miege damender, por ce quil i pert tout premier son travail, et tout ce quil en devet aver, et ce est dreit et raison par lassise...."

This time however, if the doctor performs competently and the slave still dies, the doctor is not at fault. The same general concept is found in commentaries on the *Lex Aquilia* in the *Digest*, although the *Digest* here refers to an injured slave who cannot be helped by a physician, not a diseased slave.³⁴ The corresponding chapter of *Lo Codi* does not mention doctors at all, only that if a slave dies and it is not the fault of the person who injured him, that person does not have to pay compensation.³⁵ So this would seem to be another example where the burgess assizes were not copying from *Lo Codi*, but directly from Roman law. In this case as well, the author/compiler adapted the *Lex Aquilia* to fit the circumstances he was familiar with in Jerusalem.

Prawer noted in passing that these two laws were probably related to the *Lex Aquilia*.³⁶ But there is a third example that is even clearer evidence of the influence and adaptation of Roman law into the Frankish assizes. Chapter 264 deals with slaves who are beaten or killed by someone other than their owner:

...If it happens that a free man ... beats a male or female slave and the slave's lord comes to the court to accuse him ... the law judges that no free man or woman should be convicted of this on the testimony of a male or female slave, because this is neither right nor lawful ... But if this slave dies because of this beating, and the person who beat him is accused of it by good witnesses who saw the beating, the law judges that this person is obliged to pay back the lord or lady who owned the male or female slave, as much as the lord will swear, on his honour, that the slave cost him from the day that he bought him until the day that he died. And this is right and lawful according to the assizes, for if a Christian is accused by Muslim slave, the Muslim slave and the Christian would seem to be equal in status, which would go against the holy religion of the Christian faith.³⁷

34 Dig. 9.2.52, quoting the Roman jurist Alfenus.

35 *Lo Codi*, 3.37.3 (Provençal version); 3.31 (Latin version).

36 Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 370.

37 Kausler, ed., Ch. 264. "...Sil avient que I franc home ... bate I esclaf ou une esclave, et son seignor vient a la cort et se claime de selui ... la raison iuge et coumande enci a iuger que ia nul frans hom ne nule franche feme ne fera por ce a serf ni a serve assise, por ce que dreis et raison nen est ... Mais se cele esclave meurt par celuy batre, et selui qui la bati en est ataint par bones guarenties qui li virent batre: la raison iuge que celuy est tenus damender a son seignor ou a sa dame de qui fu celuy esclaf ou cele esclave, tant come il vora dire par sa leaute quelle li a voit coste des yceluy ior quelle lacheta iusques au ior quelle avoit este morte. Et ce est dreit et raison par lassise, quia si cristianus seruo sarraceno asissam faceret, iam seruus sarracenus et cristianus paris essent condicionis videretur, quod sancte religionis fidei cristi obuiaret."

Here the compiler has taken the separate commentaries in the *Digest* dealing with injured slaves and combined them into a new assize. In short, a free person who beats someone else's slave could not be convicted of assault. Assault was a crime committed against a person, and slaves were not legally persons, either in Rome or in Jerusalem. The slave's owner could, nevertheless, accuse the person who beat his slave of property damage, just as a Roman slave owner could have done under the *Lex Aquilia*. If the slave died from the beating, and witnesses could prove the accusation, then this was a form of property damage, and the person who was responsible for the slave's death would have to compensate the slave owner for however much the slave cost throughout his entire period of servitude.

This law is almost a direct quotation of the original wording of the *Lex Aquilia* itself, as defined by the Roman jurists Gaius and Ulpian.³⁸ According to them, anyone who kills another person's slave must compensate the slave owner, but the compensation for the slave under the *Lex Aquilia* would be calculated only for the previous year, unlike in Jerusalem where the slave owner would be compensated for the entire length of the slave's service. The reason for this difference is unclear, but the author of the assize could have been making another modification based on the circumstances of the crusader kingdom. The Franks certainly used slave labour, as did their Muslim neighbours, but the usual source of slaves for both sides were captives taken in battle. It was often preferable to ransom captives rather than enslave them.³⁹ Perhaps slaves would typically be ransomed before they had served for a year in Jerusalem, or they were not enslaved for such a long time that their price would change from year to year. So, rather than a class of slaves who were enslaved for life and produced new generations of slaves, there could have been a quicker turnover rate for slaves in Jerusalem, and the price of a slave was therefore calculated on their entire period of service rather than on a yearly basis.

Under the *Lex Aquilia* it was also possible to bring a lawsuit against anyone who merely injured a slave. However, this was not true in Jerusalem. The reason for this reflects an essential difference in Roman and crusader society, and one that shows an interesting departure from the *Lex Aquilia*: unlike in Roman society, where slavery had no religious/ethnic basis, slaves in Jerusalem were almost exclusively Muslim.

The context of this situation was related to the ethnic makeup of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Roman Catholic Franks lived alongside many different

38 Dig. 9.2.2 and 9.2.3.

39 Yvonne Friedman, *Encounter Between Enemies: Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Leiden, 2002), 113–116, 147–148.

groups of non-Catholic Christians, as well as a relatively small number of Jews and Samaritans.⁴⁰ The majority of the population might have been Muslim, although it is unclear whether there was a greater number of Muslims or eastern Christians in Syria and Palestine during the crusader period.⁴¹ Whatever their numbers, Muslims were certainly the largest non-Christian population that the Franks encountered, even though the Franks tended to settle in areas where eastern Christians traditionally lived, and rarely interacted with the Muslim population at all.⁴² Muslims are therefore almost completely ignored in Frankish sources, including the legal sources. Hans Mayer commented that when Muslims are mentioned, it is almost as an afterthought, and as little more than “chattels” with few or no religious and legal rights.⁴³ In the burgess assizes, there was a complicated system governing the social hierarchy of the various religious groups, which was manifested in laws dealing with testimony in court: in general, members of one religious group (if they were free, and not slaves) could testify only against members of the same religion, but the testimony of Catholics was preferred to that of other Christians. Non-Catholic Christians were, however, given preference over Muslim witnesses.⁴⁴

In fact, from a legal point of view, “Muslim” was apparently shorthand for “slave”, while freemen were defined specifically as Christians or even more specifically as Latin Catholics. This was not always literally true: Muslims sometimes lived freely in Frankish-controlled cities, and they typically enjoyed more rights under the jurisdiction of the burgess court than their rural counterparts, and certainly more than any enslaved Muslims who also lived in the cities.⁴⁵ But as far as the legal system was concerned, it was taken for granted that any Muslim encountered by a Christian would be a slave. Therefore it would be unlikely that a Muslim person would be able to testify in court. The legal treatises also assume that any eastern and western Christians encountered by

40 Joshua Prawer, “Social classes in the Crusader States: The ‘Minorities,’” in *A History of the Crusades*, vol. v: The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East, ed. Norman Zacour and Harry Hazard (Madison, WI, 1985), 65–70.

41 Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998), 20–21.

42 Ibid., 251.

43 Hans E. Mayer, “Latins, Muslims, and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,” *History* 63 (1978), reprinted in *Probleme des lateinischen Königreichs Jerusalem* (Aldershot, 1983), 175, 185.

44 Kausler, ed., Ch. 236 (among others).

45 Marwan Nader, “Urban Muslims, Latin laws, and legal institutions in the Kingdom of Jerusalem,” *Medieval Encounters* 13 (2007): 255–258.

the courts would be free, as there were laws specifically forbidding Christians from being enslaved.⁴⁶

The Latin gloss at the end of 264 also brings up a question distinct from the concerns of the *Lex Aquilia*, but related to the way the *Lex Aquilia* was adapted by the Franks, about whether slaves (that is, by definition Muslims) were allowed to testify in court against free people (by definition Christians or specifically Catholics). In Roman law, slaves could testify only in limited ways and often only under torture.⁴⁷ In Jerusalem they could generally not testify at all under any circumstances. The question of who could testify against whom was dealt with in detail elsewhere in Roman law, and later in canon law. In crusader law, not only were the generic slaves of Roman law replaced specifically by Muslims, but Muslims also replaced the Jews of canon law. In Roman law, or at least in the Christianized Roman law of the sixth century, Jews were forbidden from testifying against Christians,⁴⁸ and this could have had an influence on the wording of Chapter 264 of the burgess assizes. But the reasoning and wording of the Latin quotation in this assize is much closer to canon law. Many early medieval conciliar canons prohibit Jews from testifying, or even from holding any position (such as a judge or city magistrate) that might place them in a socially superior position to Christians. These canons date back to at least the sixth and seventh centuries,⁴⁹ and were included in later decretal collections even in the thirteenth century.⁵⁰ To return again to the example of *Lo Codi*, it included these same prohibitions for the Jews, clearly copied from Roman and canon law.⁵¹

Laws limiting the power of the Jews hardly changed at all in church law or in secular laws like *Lo Codi*, even when the Jews were marginalized and powerless compared to their Christian neighbours in the twelfth and thirteenth century. In 1306, the Jews were even expelled from southern France, the same area where *Lo Codi* was written.⁵² But the older laws continued to be copied from collection to collection, the weight of authority overriding any thought that may have been given to reflecting the actual situation. In Jerusalem, on the

46 For example, Kausler, ed., Ch. 16.

47 William Warwick Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery* (Cambridge, 1908), 87.

48 For example, Cod. 1.5.11.

49 Including the Council of Clermont (535) and the Council of Mâcon (581–583), and the Fourth Council of Toledo (633), for which see Jaume Vicens i Vives, ed., *Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romano* (Barcelona and Madrid, 1963), Ch. 65.

50 For example, *Clementinae* 2.8.1, *Liber Extra*, 5.6.16.

51 *Lo Codi*, 1.6.

52 Robert Chazan, *The Jews of Medieval Western Christendom: 1000–1500* (Cambridge, 2006), 77–79.

other hand, where there were very few Jews,⁵³ these laws were instead modified and adapted to take into account the entirely different circumstances, just as the *Lex Aquilia* was likewise modified.

Another question in the historiography of crusader law is whether the assizes were only theoretical, an academic exercise, or if they were actually used as practical manuals by the courts. The register established for the burgess court in 1251 has not survived, so it is difficult for us to know how the courts actually functioned. Sometimes we can see the workings of the court in other sources (chronicles or other narrative sources), but in the case of the laws adapted from the *Lex Aquilia*, there is no such evidence. However, there is evidence that some of the other burgess assizes were in use, and some of these are related to the three aforementioned laws about slaves, as well as to other Roman laws.

For example, certain assizes state that Muslim slaves who wanted to be baptized would first have to be freed, as Christians could not be enslaved. This could be another reason why slaves were not enslaved for life in Jerusalem—there was a way out, whereas Roman law had no legal definition of free and non-free religions and therefore no option to convert. This situation actually existed in Jerusalem outside of an abstract legal framework, as we can see from other authors (especially the popes and other ecclesiastics) who complained whenever the crusaders broke these laws by refusing to baptize their slaves, or refusing to free their slaves once they had been baptized.⁵⁴ The crusader assizes about freeing slaves are clearly also based on Roman law, as well as on early medieval canons that dealt with Jewish and Christian slaves. Here, again, the early canons are updated by replacing Jews (or Christians) with Muslims. These Roman-influenced laws reflected the actual situation in Jerusalem, just as the three examples based specifically on the *Lex Aquilia* also reflected the actual situation.

The three laws presented above are just a few of the many examples of Roman law that can be found in the burgess assizes. How exactly Roman law came to be incorporated into the assizes has always been a difficult question to answer. From the adaptations of the *Lex Aquilia*, we can see that the Franks, whether one author, one compiler, or several different jurists, actively chose specific Roman laws, and modified them to fit their own needs. The laws were not copied randomly from Roman legal texts with no regard for the contemporary situation. They were chosen because they were still relevant to the Franks in Jerusalem, and were updated to match the crusaders' particular

53 Praver, "Social classes in the Crusader States", 69–70.

54 Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches Toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1988), 147.

circumstances that did not exist in earlier periods. The same process occurred elsewhere in the burgess assizes: Brundage noted that the assizes on marriage were adapted to the specific circumstances of the Latin east, diverging from Roman and canon law when necessary.⁵⁵ John of Ancona was also innovative, adapting canon and Roman law “to meet the particular needs of [Acre’s] clergy”.⁵⁶ As for the *Lex Aquilia*, references to the slaves and Jews of Roman law and conciliar canons, the lowest members of the Roman social hierarchy, were changed to refer to Muslims, the lowest members of society in Frankish Jerusalem. Slavery now had a religious/ethnic component that it did not previously have in Roman law.

As for how these laws came to be included in the assizes of Jerusalem, the simplest explanation would be to follow Prawer in saying that they were borrowed from *Lo Codi*. But the three examples mentioned above are not direct borrowings or translations from *Lo Codi*. Were these laws instead taken directly from a book of Roman law? If so, who was copying Roman law, and how did this person end up in Jerusalem? It is possible that the introduction of Roman law into the kingdom coincides with the creation of a the register of the burgess court in 1251, but as Brundage noted, there were jurists and notaries trained in Roman and canon law present in the crusader kingdom throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Was the author or compiler of the burgess assizes one of these “masters”? Since the adaptations of Roman law also include elements of canon law, it seems that the author or compiler was familiar with both kinds of law—as was expected of medieval jurists studying at European universities.⁵⁷ The introduction of this kind of law by trained specialists was in contrast to the traditional way the native nobility of Jerusalem learned the customary, probably unwritten law of the kingdom. References to and quotations from the *Lex Aquilia* are thus a “rare example of the infiltration of learned law” into the assizes.⁵⁸

Unfortunately, we do not know the identity of the person or persons responsible for the text of the burgess assizes. We also we do not know exactly how the text of the burgess assizes as we currently have it came to exist, whether it was written by one person or compiled from different sources. But clearly there are at least a few chapters that were written by one jurist who was trained

55 Brundage, “Marriage law”, throughout, but see in particular 262–265.

56 Rubin, “John of Ancona’s *Summae*,” 190.

57 James Brundage, *The Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession: Canonists, Civilians, and Courts* (Chicago, 2008), 233–234.

58 Rubin, “John of Ancona’s *Summae*,” 185, n. 6.

in Roman and canon law in Europe. This person used his knowledge to create a new solution for legal issues involving slaves and property damage that corresponded with the particular circumstances of the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem.

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PART 2
Crusade Preaching



“Far be it from Me to Glory Save in the Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Galatians 6:14)”: Crusade Preaching and Sermons for Good Friday and Holy Week

Jessalynn Bird

Both general surveys of the crusading movement and specialist monographs on crusade preaching note that recruiters focused on certain dates in the liturgical year, including the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross and Holy Week. However, few scholars have traced how precisely preachers adapted themes from the readings and liturgy of specific feast days to construct crusade appeals. Matthew Phillips has carefully studied the image of the cross in monastic circles in the twelfth century and its impact on crusade preaching, but little has been done recently on the preaching of the Passion in the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, a transformative moment in the context and nature of crusade recruiting.¹

A mass of unpublished crusade appeals and liturgical treatises illustrates that themes from Holy Week and Good Friday dominated sermons delivered to crusaders in this period. The loss of Jerusalem and the relic of the True Cross focused attention on Christ's redemptive work. So too, did crusading liturgies which borrowed heavily from Good Friday's bidding prayers, including daily petitions for the deliverance of the Holy Land inserted into the Mass and processions instituted by Innocent III, which fell on the first Friday of each month.² The Good Friday liturgy traditionally focused on the symbolism of the

- 1 C. Matthew Phillips, *O Magnum Crucis Misterium: Devotion to the Cross, Crusading and the Imitation of the Crucified Christ in the High Middle Ages, c.1050–c.1215* (PhD. Diss., Saint Louis University, 2006); C. Matthew Phillips, “The Thief's Cross: Crusade and Penance in Alan of Lille's *Sermo de cruce Domini*,” *Crusades* 5 (2006): 143–156.
- 2 Christoph Maier, “Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48 (1997): 628–657; Amnon Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002); M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017).

cross and overlapped heavily with the feasts of the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross regularly associated with crusade commemoration and recruitment. Margot Fassler has illuminated the prominent role played by Paris masters and Victorine canons in liturgical reforms which spread throughout northern France and as far as the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle in Aachen, reforms which were favored by Innocent III. The Victorines were particularly known for their promotion of the *Laudes crucis* and *Dulce lignum*; the former proved a convenient liturgical set-piece for linking church reform to Christ's salvific work, a project dear also to Paris masters involved in promoting various reform initiatives while preaching the crusade.³ With the introduction of cyclical and institutionalized diocesan crusade preaching under Innocent III, preachers were required to generate crusade appeals on a regular basis, and the imagery of certain feast days lent itself readily to the construction of crusade sermons.⁴

In the early medieval period, the theme of *imitatio Christi* through martyrdom was reinterpreted as crucifying the flesh through taking up the voluntary cross of monastic life, serving God as a *miles Christi* in the cloister through renunciation of personal possessions, prayer, and self-discipline.⁵ From the First Crusade onwards, the project of *imitatio Christi* was re-appropriated for crusaders by preachers, chroniclers, and participants, who focused on the crusader's cross as the symbol of their spiritual undertaking and sign of the elect, sometimes literally imprinted on their flesh.⁶ The cult of the suffering and human Christ was only intensified by renewed pilgrimage links to and the importation of passion relics from the Holy Land, as well as the creation of replicas of important churches, including the Holy Sepulcher, within western

3 Louis van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross: Toward the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000); Margot E. Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris*, 2nd ed. (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2011), pp. xix, xxviii, 22–28, 32–37, 47–48, 64–72, 77–82, 133–134, 209, 249, 262–263, 290, 294–311, 416–418, and *passim*.

4 Innocent III, *Quia maior*, PL 216:817–821 and *Pium et sanctum*, PL 216:822.

5 See, for example, William J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095–c.1187* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2008); Katherine Allen Smith, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011); Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), esp. pp. 278–282; Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), esp. pp. 194–217; C. Matthew Phillips, "Crucified with Christ: The Imitation of the Crucified Christ and Crusading Spirituality," in *Crusades: Medieval Worlds in Conflict*, ed. Thomas F. Madden, James, L. Naus, and Vincent Ryan (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 25–34.

6 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986).

Christendom.⁷ The liturgical year formed another living link to the Holy Land with the commemoration of Christ's salvific work on Palm Sunday, Good Friday, Easter, and the feast days of the cross. The loss of the relic of the True Cross and Jerusalem to enemy hands only sharpened preachers' and legislators' attempts to extend reform programs and monastic observances from clerical and monastic circles to the laity at large. This process was accompanied by the offering of the crusade vow to any who desired it and the creation of new opportunities for liturgical, penitential, and monetary participation in the crusade.⁸

Preachers adapted the theme of *imitatio Christi* through the adoption of various crosses from a monastic to a lay milieu. Audiences were called to imitate Christ's sufferings to win the crusade indulgence and repay Christ's sacrifice, the font of the sacraments and devotions which underwrote the crusade's varied indulgences and were newly available through the crusade home front and the ecumenical crusade vow: the intercessory prayers of the liturgy, the Eucharist, and penance. In the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, crusade preaching was characterized by an emphasis on personal repentance and reform, demonstrated by those who followed Christ's command to take up the cross and crucify the flesh with its vices and desires. Preachers used participants in the crucifixion tableau—the good thief, the disciples and future martyrs, simple bystanders, and those ministering to the suffering and deceased Christ—to stress this could be achieved through various means: through the discipline and ministry of the cloister or clerical order, through the cross of penance, by the literal imitation of Christ's suffering implied by the personal fulfillment of the crusade vow or through prayer and almsgiving. Opponents of the reform efforts considered necessary to underpin success in the East and those who took the cross from false motives (or hindered or attacked *crucesignati*) were depicted as those who wounded Christ. They and heretics daily

7 Barbara Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood: The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 122, 132, 175–176, 368; Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusade Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2005); Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Alan V. Murray, "Mighty against the Enemies of Christ: The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. John France and William G. Zajac (Farnham: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 217–229; A. Frolow, *Les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix* (Paris: Institut Français d'Etudes Byzantines, 1965); A. Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix* (Paris: Institut Français d'Etudes Byzantines, 1961); and note 5 above.

8 Jessalynn Bird, "Heresy, Crusade and Reform in the Circle of Peter the Chanter, c.1187–c.1240," (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2001), esp. pp. 120–183; James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), pp. 1–105; and notes 1 and 5 above.

re-crucified him through attacking fellow Christians (members of the body of Christ) or images which commemorated his Passion: crucifixes, altars, and hosts. Charges of desecration and pollution initially leveled against those who had seized holy places and relics in the East quickly became transferred to heretics and detractors during the Albigensian Crusade.⁹

1 The Sources

In order to paint the liturgical backdrop against which all sermons were delivered, I will be utilizing the liturgical treatises most widely cited by Paris masters, including those of John Beleth, Sicard of Cremona, and Peter of Roissy. The latter two participated in the crusade, and excerpts from Beleth and Roissy found their way into collections of materials intended for crusade and reform preachers.¹⁰ The Victorines collaborated with masters from Peter the Chanter's circle in promoting the crusade and liturgical and pastoral reform, and I will be citing liturgical manuscripts from Saint-Victor and the Sarum tradition as indicative of widespread liturgical rites.¹¹ For comparative purposes,

- 9 Jessalynn Bird, "Paris Masters and the Justification of the Albigensian Crusade," *Crusades* 6 (2007): 117–155; Nicole Bériou, "La prédication de croisade de Philippe le Chancelier et d'Eudes de Châteauroux en 1226," in *La prédication en Pays d'Oc (XII^e–début XV^e siècle)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 32 (Toulouse: Privat, 1997), pp. 85–109; Christoph Maier, "Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade," Penny J. Cole, "O God, the Heathen Have Come into Your Inheritance: The Theme of Religious Pollution in Crusade Documents, 1095–1188," in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 84–111.
- 10 Sicard of Cremona's treatise was composed circa 1200. See Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræ seu de officiis ecclesiasticis summa*, PL 213:13–436. A modern edition is *Sicardi Cremonensis episcopi Mitræ de officiis*, ed. Gábor Sarbak and Lorenz Weinrich, CCCM 228 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008). John Beleth's liturgical work was composed in Paris in the early 1160s and was widely cited by Paris masters of the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. For John Beleth, see *Johannis Beleth Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*, ed. Herbert Douteil, CCCM 41–41a (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976). Peter of Roissy preached the crusade with Fulk of Neuilly before becoming chancellor at Chartres cathedral. His treatise was composed in the first decade of the thirteenth century. See V.L. Kennedy, "The Handbook of master Peter Chancellor of Chartres," *Medieval Studies* 5 (1943): 1–38; Stephan Kuttner, "Pierre de Roissy and Robert Flamborough," *Traditio* 2 (1944): 492–498; and Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Les mystères de l'église d'après Pierre de Roissy," in *Pensée médiévale en occident: théologie, magie et autres textes des XII^e–XIII^e siècles*, ed. Charles Burnett (Farnham: Ashgate, 1995), pp. 105–128.
- 11 Fassler, *Gothic Song*; Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame in Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Jessalynn Bird, "The Victorines, Peter the Chanter's Circle, and the Crusade: Two Unpublished Crusading Appeals in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Latin 14470," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 48 (2004): 5–28. I have

I will also be utilizing the processional and ordinary attributed to the episcopate of the crusading Nivelon of Soissons, preserved in a manuscript with the anonymous account of Nivelon's despoilation of relics from Constantinople.¹² The Victorines similarly collaborated with Paris masters in preserving collections of *pastoralia* and sermons originating in Paris for the use of reform and crusade preachers, and this paper will utilize several of them extensively. In addition, I will be citing a collection of sermons delivered in Paris in the first decades of the thirteenth century (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999) and the sermon collections of the noted crusade preacher James of Vitry and those of his contemporary Odo of Cheriton, who studied in Paris and was present in that city during the preaching of the Fifth Crusade.¹³ In addition to the sermons cited in this study, one could cite a host of other unedited homilies recorded by masters trained in Paris and/or involved in the promotion of the crusade, including those of two of James of Vitry's correspondents during the Fifth Crusade: John Halgrin of Abbeville and Philip the Chancellor.¹⁴

consulted an early gradual (c.1200) and sequentiary (c.1220–1235) from Saint-Victor in Paris (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 14452). For a widespread English rite, see *The Sarum Missal*, ed. J. Wickham Legg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916).

12 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8898. I would like to thank Cecilia M. Gaposchkin for her expert assistance in helping to date this manuscript and for her assistance in other liturgical mysteries. All mistakes remain my own. There is a printed edition of the processional in *Rituale seu mandatum insignis ecclesiae Suessionensis*, ed. Alexander Poquet (Paris: Didron, 1856). Those wishing to consult the translation account should consult the modern edition by Alfred J. Andrea and Paul I. Rachlin, "Holy War, Holy Relics, Holy Theft: The Anonymous of Soissons's *De terre Iherosolimitana*: An Analysis, Edition and Translation," *Historical Reflections* 18 (1992), 157–175, translated in Alfred J. Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 223–237.

13 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MSS lat. 14470, 14589, 14593, 14859. For the sermons of BnF lat. 14470, which I am intending to edit, see Bird, "Victorines;" and the discussion below. For the crusading appeals in BnF n.a.l. 999, first described by Nicole Bériou in her magisterial *L'avènement des maîtres de la Parole: La prédication à Paris au XIII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes, 1998), see Jessalynn Bird, "Preaching the Fifth Crusade: The Sermons of BN nouv. acq. lat. 999," in *The Fifth Crusade in Context: The Crusading Movement in the Early Thirteenth Century*, ed. Jan Vandeburie, Elizabeth Mylod, and Guy Perry (New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 92–114. The best general study of Odo of Cheriton remains A.C. Friend, "Master Odo of Cheriton," *Speculum* 23 (1948): 641–658.

14 Although some mention has been made of these masters' sermons below, a full study of them would have made this paper far too lengthy. However, a survey of their surviving sermons in manuscript indicates that John and Philip followed similar patterns of exegesis and rhetoric, as did their contemporary Thomas of Chobham. See the discussion below and Thomas of Chobham, *Sermones*, ed. Franco Morenzoni (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), pp. 6–15, 75–87, 164–171.

2 The Liturgical Backdrop

In the liturgical calendar, Good Friday followed the foreshadowing of Christ's sacrifice on Passion Sunday and Palm Sunday, and the institution of the mass on Maundy Thursday, with its verse beloved of crusade recruiters, "Far be it from me to glory save in cross of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Gal. 6.14). This verse was shared with Good Friday and the feasts of the Exaltation and Invention of the Cross as well as numerous sermons on martyrs including Andrew, Peter, and Lawrence. The Victorines, liturgists, and Paris masters typically portrayed Christ as the paschal lamb foreshadowed in Old Testament prophecies and sacrifices,¹⁵ focusing on his passion as the font of the church's salvific sacraments.¹⁶ Christ was considered physically present in the reserved host from Maundy Thursday, and the Good Friday liturgy focused on processions with, reverence to and genuflection before liturgical crosses, often containing fragments of the True Cross lost to Saladin in 1187. Those commemorating the events of Christ's passion and burial could not help but be reminded that the site of these events, Jerusalem, had also fallen to Saladin.¹⁷ Good Friday's focus on the centrality of the cross as the instrument of redemption and triumphal war banner was shared by the Exaltation and Invention of the Cross, which liturgically speaking were same feast. Sermons for all three feasts focused on the power of cross, the redemption of mankind through Christ's suffering and the need to emulate it in order to achieve salvation through the sacraments (particularly the Eucharist and penance) and through almsgiving.¹⁸

The adoration of the cross formed the core of the Good Friday liturgy. At Notre-Dame in Paris (which possessed a relic of the True Cross obtained from

15 John Beleth wrote an extended treatment of Old Testament precursors of the cross of Christ including the sign of the Tau made in the blood of the paschal lamb and Moses and the bronze serpent (John Beleth, *Summa*, pp. 170–182, extracts copied into BnF lat. 14470, fol. 172ra–va and BnF lat. 14593, fols. 20ra–30rb, 31ra–34va). See also Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, PL 213:295, 311–312; James of Vitry, *Feria quinta in coena Domini thema sumptum de introitu missae (Nos autem gloriari)*, in *Sermones in epistolas et evangelia dominicalia totius anni*, ed. Damianus a Ligno (Antwerp: J. Stelsius, 1575), pp. 328–344; Innocent III, *In concilio generali*, PL 217: 674, 676–677.

16 E.g. Peter of Roissy, *Manuale*, BnF lat. 14859, fols. 288ra–303va, here 299va–vb; Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, PL 213:311–321; Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the Passion*, BnF MS lat.16506, fols. 283rb–va; James of Vitry, *Feria quinta in coena Domini*, ed. Ligno, pp. 328–334; James of Vitry, *Eodem die (feria sexta parasceves)*, ed Ligno, pp. 358–368.

17 See note 7 above; John Beleth, *Summa*, 96, p. 181; Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, PL 213:314, 318–319, 348.

18 See notes 3 and 7 above; BnF MS lat. 14452, fols. 43r–46v (Good Friday), 94r–95r (Invention), 110v (Exaltation), 163v–165r (Good Friday).

Jerusalem in 1120, commemorated in its own annual feast), after mass was celebrated with the reserved host, the passion was read and bidding prayers were offered before the reproaches of Christ were re-enacted and the veiled cross was brought down from the altar to the choir to be unveiled by the barefoot bishop singing *Ecce lignum crucis*. After the clergy venerated the cross, accompanied by suitable antiphons, the *Pange lingua* and *Vexilla regis* were sung as the cross was returned to the altar and mass continued. Although much of St. Victor's liturgy derived from Notre-Dame, its liturgists did not use the *Vexilla regis*.¹⁹ Instead, there the priest, chorus, and boys' choir combined for the tradition of Christ's reproaches, which stressed Christ's innocence and the salvific power of his cross, foreshadowed in Moses leading Israel through the desert to the land of promise (fed on manna), the wine mixed with gall, and Christ's side pierced with the lance. The anthems listed, including *Dulce lignum, dulces clavos*, and *Pange lingua*, focused on the adoration of the cross as the instrument of Christ's salvific passion which repaired the fall of Adam through a tree, enabled his triumph over the Devil and death, and became the source of the sacraments of the church, themes found in the roughly contemporary crusade preaching treatise known as the *Brevis ordinacio* and many crusading sermons.²⁰

Already during the Second Crusade, Holy Week and the relics of the True Cross and the passion associated with Notre-Dame and Saint-Denis had proved key to crusading devotion. Eugenius III consecrated Abbot Suger's stunning golden cross on Easter day in 1147. The *crucesignatus* Louis VII's ceremonial adoption of the war-banner (*vexillum*) of the *oriflamme* (and the pilgrim's staff and scrip) was deliberately staged during the Lendit fair in 1147, after a procession and ceremonial blessing of Notre-Dame's own fragment of the True Cross. On display were Suger's bejeweled cross, passion relics owned by the abbey of Saint-Denis, and most likely stained-glass windows commemorating the First Crusade's recapture of Jerusalem (paralleled to the mythological Holy Land pilgrimage of Charlemagne and Constantine's exploits). These tangible objects and the liturgy of the Holy Week reinforced the predominance of the Holy Sepulcher and the Holy Land as the site of Christ's passion, as did a contemporary sermon delivered by Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny which called his

19 Wright, *Music at Notre-Dame*, pp. 54–56, 58, 373. For a comparable liturgy, see *Sarum Missal*, pp. 109–115.

20 These hymns were also pressed into service for Palm Sunday, Passion Sunday, the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross. See note 18 above (and the CANTUS online database at <http://cantusdatabase.org/>); *Brevis ordinacio de predicacione crucis*, in *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores*, ed. Reinhold Röhrich (Geneva: J-G. Fick, 1879), pp. 3–26, at pp. 5–6, 8, 10–11.

audience to the emulation of Christ's sacrifice. Bernard of Clairvaux's crusade appeal at Vézelay had similarly served as the climax of a whole series of meetings which stretched from Palm Sunday to Easter in 1146.²¹ Crusade preachers of all stripes, from the Paris-educated Gerald of Wales to Conrad of Urach, Cistercian legate for the Albigensian crusade, utilized processional crosses or cross-reliquaries with fragments of the True Cross embedded in them to visually embody the web of associations connected with the symbol of the cross, which their audiences were being called to physically imprint upon their clothing as "crucesignati," literally "those signed with the cross".²²

Liturgists associated with crusade preachers stressed that after the Passion account was read on Good Friday, prayers were said for all within and outside the church (including gentiles, Jews, schismatics and heretics). Although Christians suffered because of these persecutors, they ought always like Christ to have recourse to prayer and remember that Christ was crucified for all, including his enemies, who will be saved.²³ Bidding prayers for the conversion of reprobates and non-Christians and for divine assistance for Christian rulers against barbarians and pagans were traditional to the Good Friday liturgy. Amnon Linder notes that they were adapted for the Holy Land clamors instituted from 1188 onwards, which continued throughout the later twelfth century and were renewed again by Innocent III in 1199, 1200, and 1213.²⁴ In addition to the daily recitation of Psalm 78 in the mass, Innocent deliberately chose the first Friday of each month for crusade processions which were to include the clamor "Deus qui admirabili," inserted in the mass directly after the kiss of peace and prior to consumption of host while the entire congregation prostrated themselves. Surviving versions of the prayer petition God, who consecrated the Holy Land with the blood of his only son, to free it from the hands of enemies of cross, restore it to the Christian cult, and direct the vows of the

21 Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 65–69, 122–127.

22 Conrad was also responsible for circulating atrocity stories invoking the desecration of crucifixes and altars as anti-heretical propaganda during his legation and on his death left a cross-reliquary with a fragment of the True Cross to Clairvaux which he may well have used while recruiting for the crusade (it was delivered by his brother Egeno of Urach, who had at one time taken the cross for Frederick II's crusade). See Falko Neining, *Konrad von Urach (d.1227): Zähringer, Zisterzienser, Kardinallegate* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1994), nos. 413–415, 422, pp. 86–87, 278; Bird, "Paris Masters and the Justification of the Albigensian Crusade"; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095–1588* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 157.

23 Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, PL 213:316–317; John Belet, *Summa*, pp. 173–179.

24 Linder, *Raising Arms*, pp. 1–12, 26–43, 52–54, 97–102.

faithful seeking its liberation to the way of eternal salvation. Some variants also stressed the need for repentance from sin.²⁵ As we will see below, Good Friday sermons typically expressed hopes for the conversion of all peoples before the end times and for triumph over the gentiles in possession of the Holy Land and Jerusalem. Personal redemption through Christ's sacrifice on cross was linked to the redemption of all peoples and the Holy Land.

3 The Sermons

Overlapping readings and themes between the feasts of Holy Week and other cross-centric feasts mean that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish for precisely which occasion a sermon was meant to be preached. For example, "Far be it from me to glory" was a mainstay for sermons for Good Friday, the Exaltation or Invention of the Cross, and Maundy Thursday, but also appeared in the Easter liturgy and in many sermons for martyrs.²⁶ One late twelfth-century anonymous sermon opening with this theme calls its audience to be like small children worthy of having the sacred sacrament of Christ's passion, hidden from the wise and prudent, revealed to them. The redemptive merit of Christ's sacrifice extends to all, including children and those who have not had time to do good works, but those who are capable ought to imitate Christ's sacrifice on the cross through suffering tribulations and insults for him and thus win the eternal crown. The preacher uses the four dimensions of the cross as distinctions to construct his sermon, urging his listeners to deny themselves, take up their cross, and follow Christ through rejecting worldly desires, riches, honors, and dignities. The *miles Christi* must emulate Christ's humility and subjugation of the flesh by abandoning his own will, submitting himself to superiors, equals, and lesser men and enduring bitter things for the sake of justice and truth. The discipline of the Christian *religio* is a bitter medicine which many

25 Linder, *Raising Arms*, pp. 38–43, 97–98.

26 In the Victorine gradual copied into BnF MS lat. 14452, the scriptural verses leading up to Maundy Thursday include "Nos autem gloriamur" (fols. 40r–42v), and they were utilized also for the feasts of Saints Vincent (fol. 87r), Victor (fols. 95v–96r, 177r–178v, 183v–184v, 214r–v), Andrew (fols. 115v–116v; his relics were held by Notre-Dame, see Paul Perdrizet, *Le Calendrier parisien à la fin du moyen âge, d'après le Bréviaire et les Livres d'Heures* [Paris: Société d'Édition Les Belles Lettres, 1937], p. 266, n. 30), Lawrence (fols. 103v–104v, 186r–187v), Martin (fol. 100v), Stephen (fol. 143r), and Peter (fols. 179v–181r). Many of these saints' relics were incorporated in altars in the church of Saint-Victor (see Fassler, *Gothic Song*, pp. 254–255).

spurn in favor of the world's sweet poison; those ashamed of Christ will be rejected at the Last Judgment.²⁷

James of Vitry's sermon for Maundy Thursday utilizes the same verse to urge his audience to venerate and glory in Christ's cross by continuing Palm Sunday's theme of mingled rejoicing and lamentation in Christ's passion, particularly since the impious denigrate his cross as foolishness.²⁸ All the sacraments of the church derive their power from Christ's cross. The cross absolves James' audience from sin, frees them from danger and enemies, destroys sin, and distinguishes them from the infidel as the emperor's seal. It is potent medicine, a key, a lifeboat, a ladder, a staff, rod, and scepter. Enemies of the cross of Christ trust in their own transient powers, glory, earthly riches, and pleasures. Christ's cross is the tree of life in the midst of paradise, the arboreal antidote to Adam's fall through another tree. Those who wish to enjoy its fruits (remission of sins, virtues, and eternal blessedness) must first endure the bitterness of its roots (contrition, compassion, and suffering). The *Brevis ordinacio*, James' own model sermons to crusaders, and many other contemporary preachers of the crusade would utilize virtually identical imagery in their appeals.²⁹

Similar to his contemporaries, James calls his audience to meditate upon Christ's passion and let it move them to compassion, love and taking up their own crosses in emulation of Christ's sacrifice. However, unlike Christ, many do not persevere on their chosen cross until death. Some leave the cross of compassion for avarice, others the mortification of the flesh for gluttony or lust, others longsuffering because of insults. Similar to Simon Cyrene, they will not share in the rewards of Christ's cross because they do not glory in it and, although crucified, do not die to the world. Similar to the bad thief and hypocrites bent on human favor, they suffer in body, but without the good intention which can make martyrs of those who joyfully and patiently sustain the injuries inflicted on them, feel compassion for neighbors, and aid them with works of mercy, while grieving bitterly over sin. Hypocrites neither ascend the palm to grasp its fruit, nor the sycamore to see Christ. They are guilty of treason because

27 Anonymous, *Sermo de triplici gloriatione in cruce*, BnF MS lat. 14589, fols. 2vb–4vb; edited by Jean Châtillon in *Galteri a Sancto Victore et quorundam aliorum sermones inedita*, CCCM 30 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), pp. 250–255; compare *Brevis ordinacio*, p. 15.

28 James of Vitry, *Feria quinta in coena Domini*, ed. Ligno, pp. 328–334. He also cites Galatians 6.14, “Far be it from me to glory, etc.” (p. 329).

29 James of Vitry, *Feria quinta in coena Domini*, ed. Ligno, pp. 328–329, 331–333; compare *Brevis ordinacio*, pp. 4–8, 10–11; James of Vitry, *Sermo ad cruce signatos vel –signandos*, pp. 2.11–12, in *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross*, ed. Christoph Maier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 107–109; Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the Passion*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 282rb–va.

they take up Christ's cross, the banner of the heavenly emperor, and drag it on the ground through wrong intention.³⁰ The four dimensions of the cross represent the power of Christ's cross to save all peoples throughout the world and the four cardinal virtues through which, like the good thief, the faithful ought to nail themselves to the cross, including works of charity to both friends and enemies and perseverance unto the end.³¹

Drawing on the popular legend of the wood of the cross and the propensity in Victorine and other circles to seek Old Testament antecedents to Christ's cross, James lists the five kinds of wood which stand for and composed Christ's cross: cedar, palm, cyprus, olive, and sycamore.³² Several of these were popular among crusade preachers for symbolizing the redemptive power of Christ and the crusader's cross. "Climb the palm and grasp its fruit" and the qualities of the palm tree were often used to emphasize that those who endured the bitterness of the cross would share in its victory and sweet fruit. The sycamore, or fool's fig, was used to stress that Christ's cross was foolishness to the Jews and Gentiles. The mulberry bore berries which were first white, then red, then black, symbolizing Christ's innocence, his blood shed on the cross and his death. Elephants shown mulberry juice are incited to do battle; so too the blood of Christ ought to spur the faithful to war against the Devil and vice. Its leaves, which nourish silkworms, stand for preaching on Christ's passion and the cross which produces the silk of good works and enables the worm-like sinner to take spiritual flight.³³

James uses these and other trees to call his audience to various types of service to Christ, including martyrdom, a holy life which instructs others (prelates and confessors), renunciation of the world, virginity, and the married who serve through piety and works of mercy. His listeners ought to emulate Christ's virtues on the cross, including his charity in forgiveness of his enemies and laying down his life for his friends, mercy and generosity in remitting the sins of the thief and promising him paradise, his compassion, and his fervor for

30 James of Vitry, *Feria quinta in coena Domini*, ed. Ligno, 329–330; compare James of Vitry, *Sermo ad cruce signatos vel –signandos*, 2.8 and 2.10, ed. Maier, pp. 105, 107.

31 James of Vitry, *Feria quinta in coena Domini*, ed. Ligno, pp. 330; Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræle*, PL 213:313.

32 For similar lists, see Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræle*, PL 213:314–315 (following Belet); Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the Passion*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 281ra–rb. For context, see Baert, *Heritage*, pp. 9–10, 19–20, 109–119, 289–309.

33 James of Vitry, *Feria quinta in coena Domini*, ed. Ligno, p. 331. For the etymological treatment of "palm" in collections of distinctions (used primarily to construct sermons), see Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones dictionum theologicarum*, PL 210:687–1012, here 888–889, 964; Bird, "Crusade and Reform," Anonymous, *De commendacione crucis*, BnF MS lat. 14470, fols. 319ra–321rb; *Brevis ordinacio*, pp. 19–22.

contrition and compunction in mankind. James concludes by exhorting his audience to die with Christ on the cross of penance and consummate their good works through perseverance. The good thief embodies the power of fraternal correction, preaching, contrition, confession, penitential satisfaction, and prayer. As Jonathan Riley-Smith has noted, the crusade was often presented by propagandists as a form of fraternal self-sacrifice and emulation of Christ's *caritas*.³⁴ The crucifixion tableau would be powerfully and routinely exploited by crusade recruiters for both the eastern and Albigenian crusades to depict the newly available and widely varied forms of participation in the crusade as the imitation of Christ's sufferings according to each individual's capacities. This was not necessarily cynical exploitation: crusade preachers of James' generation were accused of giving the cross to any who desired it, as Innocent III himself at one point instructed, as a marker of personal conversion and intent to participate in the crusade and the social and individual reform deemed essential for its success.³⁵

In both his Maundy Thursday and crusade sermons, James also focuses on the prophylactic power of the sign of the cross against temptations and the Devil. Just as in baptism the sign of the cross is made in four places, so one ought to take up Christ's cross through contrition and compassion for neighbors, through penance and crucifying flesh with its vices and desires, through meditating on Christ's passion, and in glorying in the cross of Christ. This is the Tau marking the elect, the sign by which the Lord gathers the nations. James cites Ezekiel 9.4, Apocalypse 7.2-3, and Isaiah 11.12, which he also uses in his sermons to crusaders.³⁶ Isaiah 11.12 also formed part of the liturgy for the second week in Advent, the Invention of the Cross, and the commemoration of the First Crusaders' capture of Jerusalem, which was observed not only in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, but in liturgical manuals dispersed widely throughout the Capetian *regnum*.³⁷ Good Friday bidding prayers and crusade sermons including those of James of Vitry and Innocent III focused also on

34 James of Vitry, *Feria quinta in coena Domini*, ed. Ligno, p. 331. In the thirteenth-century breviary of Philippe le Bel, the theme of the good thief entering paradise would dominate the Good Friday liturgy (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 1023, fols. 161va–163rb).

35 Jessalynn Bird, "Preaching the Crusade and the Liturgical Year: The Palm Sunday Sermons," *Essays in Medieval Studies: Proceedings of the Illinois Medieval Association* 30 (2014): 11–36.

36 James of Vitry, *Feria quinta in coena Domini*, ed. Ligno, p. 333; James of Vitry, *Sermo ad cruce signatos vel -signandos*, 1.1, 5–7, 9 and 2.7–10, ed. Maier, pp. 82–83, 86–93, 104–106; compare Innocent III, *In concilio generali*, PL 217:674–675, 677.

37 Amnon Linder, "The Liturgy of the Liberation of Jerusalem," *Medieval Studies* 52/1 (1990): 110–131; M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "The Echoes of Victory: Liturgical and Para-liturgical

the theme of the gathering and conversion of all peoples under the sign of the Tau or Christ's cross to demonstrate hopes for missions and embody calls for the juncture of reform and crusade during recruiting and the Fourth Lateran Council (1215).³⁸

James and many other recruiters stressed that man was born in the shape of a cross, as were ships and birds. To navigate the bitter seas of this world's sins and achieve the port of eternal glory, his audience ought to follow Jerome's advice in making the sign of the cross as a shield against diabolical vices and demonic foes.³⁹ The linkage between the Tau, the Old Testament Passover, and Christ's cross was a commonplace in biblical commentaries in Paris and was also incorporated into the moralized Bibles produced for crusading French royalty.⁴⁰ Crusade preachers including James of Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn invoked Gregory the Great's *exempla* on the power of the cross and actively promoted and circulated contemporary miracles concerning the power of the crusader's cross to spiritually and physically protect its wearer from harm. They also demonstrated its potency by circulating accounts of cross apparitions (including crucifixes) which accompanied crusade recruiting to confirm the promises they made concerning the power of Christ's and the crusaders' cross to save their audiences.⁴¹

Many sermons to crusaders and crusading treatises felt obliged to explain the way in which Christ's incarnation and sacrifice on the cross repaired the fall of Adam and humankind, and James of Vitry's Good Friday sermon was no exception. Reworking material he had also incorporated into his *sermones feriales* (which included praise of the anti-heretical crusade) and his sermons

Commemorations of the Capture of Jerusalem in the West," *Journal of Medieval History* 40/3 (2014): 237–259.

- 38 John Beleth, *Summa*, pp. 173–174, copied also into BN Lat. 14470, fol. 172va; Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, PL 213:313; James of Vitry, *Sermo ad cruce signatos vel -signandos*, 2.7, ed. Maier, p. 105; Bird, "Preaching the Fifth Crusade."
- 39 James of Vitry, *Feria quinta in coena Domini*, ed. Ligno, pp. 333–334; Bird, "Victorines," 25–27; James of Vitry, *Sermo ad cruce signatos vel -signandos*, 1.9–12, ed. Maier, pp. 89–91, 107–109.
- 40 *Bible Moralisée, Codex Vindobonensis 2554*, Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, trans. Gerald B. Guest (London: Harvey Miller, 1995), fols. 20r–20v.
- 41 Anonymous, *Tria generum hominum sunt*, BnF MS lat. 14470, fols. 335va–338ra, here fols. 335vb–336rb; James of Vitry, *Sermon to Pilgrims*, in *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291*, ed. Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters and James M. Powell (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 143–154, at 153; Bird, "Victorines;" Jessalynn Bird, "James of Vitry's Sermons to Pilgrims (*Sermones ad peregrinos*): A Recontextualization," *Essays in Medieval Studies: Proceedings of the Illinois Medieval Association* 25 (2008): 81–113 at 101–102; and the discussion of Odo of Cheriton below.

to crusaders, James followed treatises such as the *Brevis ordinacio* in following careful explications of these matters with graphic imagery. Christ's innocent death erased the chirographs of guilt (*culpa*) by which previously debtors had been held bound by the devil for violating God's decree not to eat from the tree of good and evil. Following medieval bestiary tradition, James claimed that similar to the pelican, Christ shed his own blood to revive his slain and rebellious spiritual offspring. Other homilists used the image of Christ as an eagle or hawk spreading his wings and urging his chicks to fly to escape the hunter, and James would use all three images: eagle, pelican, and Christ wielding a charter in his second homily to crusaders.⁴²

James also followed many liturgists and Holy Week sermons in presenting Christ's sacrifice as the culmination of Old Testament prophecies and antecedents, including the paschal lamb of the Passover which initiated the Israelites' going out from Egypt and crossing the Red Sea. The rod of Moses, which parted the Red Sea, turned the bitter waters of Marath sweet, and caused the walls of Jericho to fall, is the power of preaching and meditating on Christ's passion, which should move his audience to devotion and contrition.⁴³ Recounting the passion blow by blow, he holds up Peter's threefold denial as an example of the redeeming power of penance.⁴⁴ Simon Cyrene can be interpreted either as gentiles who are converted to Christ's cross or hypocrites or others who do not bear the cross for God's sake, but from fear or human favor and so refuse to die on it.⁴⁵ James uses the bad thief to symbolize the wicked crucified by their own sins, contrasted to good thief, that is, the contrite who voluntarily take up the cross by doing penance for their sins and afflicting themselves. Those who suffer for the sake of their brothers hang with Christ himself, presumably in imitation of martyrs or crusaders. He calls his audience to persevere

42 For the *sermones feriales*, see Carolyn Muessig, "The 'Sermones feriales' of Jacques de Vitry: A Critical Edition," (PhD diss., Université de Montréal, 1993). For images of Christ and charters/chirographs, see Bird, "Preaching the Crusade and the Liturgical Year," James of Vitry, *Sermo ad cruce signatos vel -signandos*, 2.16, ed. Maier, pp. 111–113; *Brevis ordinacio*, pp. 22–23. For the fall and the pelican, see Muessig, "'Sermones feriales,'" *passim*; James of Vitry, *Feria sexta parasceves thema sumptum de tractu ex propheta Abacuc 3:4*, ed. Ligno, pp. 346–353; James of Vitry, *Sermo ad cruce signatos vel -signandos*, 2.14–15, ed. Maier, p. 111; *Brevis ordinacio*, pp. 4–11; Bird, "Victorines," 22–23. For Christ as hawk and eagle, see Anonymous, *Venite ad me*, in BnF lat. 14470, fols. 316vb–319ra, at fol. 317ra–rb and James of Vitry, *Sermo ad cruce signatos vel -signandos*, 2.16, ed. Maier, p. 111.

43 James of Vitry, *Feria sexta parasceves*, ed. Ligno, pp. 353–358; James of Vitry, *Eodem die (feria sexta parasceves)*, ed. Ligno, pp. 358–368, esp. pp. 358–359, 364–365, 368; Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræle*, PL 213:318; John Beleth, *Summa*, in BnF lat. 14470, fols. 172rb–va.

44 James of Vitry, *Eodem die (feria sexta parasceves)*, ed. Ligno, p. 361.

45 James of Vitry, *Eodem die (feria sexta parasceves)*, ed. Ligno, p. 365.

to the death as did the good thief on the cross of penance, emulating Christ's long-suffering, humility, obedience, and love. Similar to Joshua, they must not withdraw their hand from the shield of the cross until all the sinful inhabitants of Ai are slain.⁴⁶ The interpretation of Joshua's actions as spiritual warfare against vice conjoined with military warfare against an unbelieving enemy stemmed from the liturgical and exegetical traditions. Fused with the image of the crucifixion scene, it would be richly exploited by James and other contemporary preachers including Philip the Chancellor and Odo of Chateauroux in crusade appeals delivered to western armies urging the reform of all social groups and participation in the liturgical, supportive, and military fronts of crusading. Those who aided the crusade effort were the heroes of the scene; those who detracted from or opposed the crusade were the villains of the crucifixion story.⁴⁷

The content and focus of James' Holy Week sermons were shared by contemporary anonymous crusade preachers and the abbots of Saint-Victor, a canonry heavily involved in the promotion of the Fourth and Fifth Crusades. One sermon probably preached by John the Teuton, abbot of Saint-Victor, opens with the epistle for Good Friday: "Christ suffered for us, leaving for us an example so that we might follow in his footsteps" (1 Pet. 2.21).⁴⁸ Using militaristic imagery, John portrays Christ as the standard-bearer for the Christian religion, triumphing over the Devil and the vices which caused Adam's fall through his willing subjection to an ignominious death on the cross in obedience to God the Father. His audience ought also to carry the cross, the banner of Christ's victory, through imitating him. The four horns of the cross illustrate the various means of *imitatio Christi*: the bodily suffering of the martyrs, the crucifixion of the flesh with its vices and desires, suffering insults and injuries for the sake of justice, and the renunciation of the world and their own will and ministry to others. The weak who cannot ascend Christ's cross can still participate in his passion and its benefits and find pardon and salvation in the sacraments of the church, which flow from his side. Christ's members are the

46 James of Vitry, *Eodem die (feria sexta parasceves)*, ed. Ligno, pp. 365–366, 368, James of Vitry, *Eadem dominica [in passione] thema sumptum de epistola ad Hebraeos 9*, ed. Ligno, p. 303; James of Vitry, *Sermo ad cruce signatos vel –signandos*, 2.5, ed. Maier, p. 103; *Brevis ordinatio*, p. 24; Anonymous, *Ad cruce signatos*, BnF n.a.l. 999, fols. 240ra–241va, at fol. 241ra–va.

47 Jessalynn Bird, "Rogations, Litanies and Crusade Preaching: The Liturgical Front in the Early Thirteenth Century," in *The Papacy, Peace and the Crusade: Essays in Memory of James M. Powell*, ed. Jessalynn Bird (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, forthcoming); note 9 above.

48 John the Teuton (?), *In die palmarum*, BnF lat. 14525, fols. 167va–169vb.

faithful who build up his body the church through living justly and piously and ministering to those in need, unlike criminous sinners who re-crucify Christ's body and mutilate his members. It were as if the Israelites, freed by the blood of the paschal lamb, returned to slavery in Egypt. They ought instead to recall Christ's sacrifice for them on the cross and contemplate it with faith, devotion, and charity so that their hard hearts might soften, just as Moses had the envenomed Israelites gaze on the bronze serpent to be healed.⁴⁹

John warns the clergy to faithfully fulfill the spiritual duties attached to their offices and live frugally from Christ's patrimony which he bought with his blood to console those who imitate his passion and tribulations on earth. He lambasts those who are intent on riches and worldly pleasures and squander Christ's patrimony on dogs, hawks, jongleurs, and their own concubines, daughters, and sons rather than aiding the poor, widows, and orphans. They will be accused by Christ at the Last Judgment for refusing to follow in his footsteps like the apostles, disciples, martyrs, prophets, and patriarchs who chose voluntary poverty, humble clothing, abstinence, contempt for worldly glory, and longsuffering imitation of Christ's passion to win an eternal reward. John's focus on the necessity for reform being allied to the crusade effort was perfectly consonant with the preaching of contemporary Paris masters and the sermons Innocent III delivered to the Fourth Lateran Council. John or his representatives may well have attended the council; certainly Victorine manuscripts assiduously copied its decrees.⁵⁰

The biblical account of Christ's Passion was read as part of the liturgy for Palm Sunday, and in a sermon for the latter feast day John uses "Far be it from me to glory"⁵¹ to recall his audience to the memory of Christ's passion, foreshadowed in Old Testament figures including the Passover lamb. All who venerate Christ's passion on the cross can be raised from the tomb of their sin through contrition, remission of sin, and the removal of original sin. The *miles Christi* is safest under the emperor's banner. The heavenly militia includes

49 John the Teuton (?), *In die palmarum*, BnF lat. 14525, fols. 167va–169rb. For the bronze serpent, see John Belet, *Summa*, pp. 173–174; Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, PL 213:314. For the crucifixion as the source of sacraments, *Brevis ordinatio*, pp. 4–12, 14–15, 19; note 29 above.

50 John the Teuton (?), *In die palmarum*, BnF lat. 14525, fols. 169rb–vb; Bird, "Preaching the Fifth Crusade," note 9 above. For the full decrees of Fourth Lateran (including *Ad liberandam*) preserved in BnF 14525, see fols. 13r–28v. For other synodal sermons preserved in Victorine manuscripts and preached in Paris in the period just prior to and after Fourth Lateran, see Jessalynn Bird, "Synodal Sermons as Vectors for Reform and the Fourth Lateran Council (1215)," in *Teacher as Shepherd: Theology and Care of Souls at the time of Lateran IV*, ed. Clare Monagle and Neslihan Senocak (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

51 John the Teuton (?), *In die palmarum* (*Mihi autem absit gloriari*), BnF lat. 14525, fols. 169vb–172ra.

innocents, patriarch, martyrs, and pardoned sinners. Similar to many crusade recruiters, John uses the tableau of Christ's crucifixion to present various types of imitation of Christ's passion: some flee his cross yet still want to participate in its benefits; these are those who abandon themselves to worldly vanities or clergy who imitate *milites*. Others follow Simon Cyrene in taking up the cross of monastic discipline but refuse to persevere and so abandon it. Those furthest from Christ's cross dedicate themselves to every vice. While some cannot translate their desire to share in Christ's suffering into action, the memory of their sins recalls them from earthly things and renders them humble and willing to obey God. If the wretched of this world embrace their suffering with the intent of emulating Christ's passion, they are buried with him, while those who have compassion on them bury Christ through almsgiving. Those who suffer the penalties for sin without repentance are the wicked thief, those who undertake penance with contrition are the good thief. Those who live innocent and holy lives and endure insults, bloodshed, and other tribulations for Christ's sake are crucified with him and will share in his resurrected glory. Virtually identical mnemonic dioramas were used by contemporary crusade recruiters, including Philip the Chancellor and Odo of Chateauroux, to call their audiences to various forms of penitential, financial and military participation in the crusade.⁵²

Odo of Cheriton had also studied in Paris with members of Peter the Chanter's circle and revisited the city in the midst of recruiting for the Fifth Crusade. Odo's father had participated in the Third Crusade, and as a parish priest, Odo was responsible for preaching the crusade to his flock. He may also have served a stint as theology master in the new universities being founded in the Iberian peninsula.⁵³ His and Peter Lombard's sermons for Holy Week mirror the themes discussed by other Parisian-trained preachers such as James of Vitry, including the use of participants in the passion tableau to demonstrate various forms of participation in Christ's passion through penitential observances and the attribution of the fall of Jerusalem to the vices of the clergy and laity, including concubinary priests and usurers.

Several of Peter Lombard's sermons for Holy Week also illustrate how the penitential thrust of Lent culminated in the call to imitate Christ's passion. One which begins, "Let us convert and do penance," (Matt. 3.2 or 4.17) calls

52 John the Teuton (?), *In die palmarum*, fols. 170ra–171ra, 171va–172ra; compare Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the Passion*, BnF lat. 16506, fol. 281vb; *Brevis ordinacio*, pp. 11–13; note 46 above and the discussion below.

53 Friend, "Master Odo of Cheriton," 641–658; Enzo Franchini, "Magister Odo de Cheriton, ¿Profesor de las Universidades de Palencia y Salamanca?" *Revista de poética medieval* 2 (1998): 79–114.

its audience to imitate the Israelites leaving Egypt for the Promised Land in girding up their loins, taking up their staves, and imitating Christ's passion to celebrate the reception of his body in the Eucharist and his death, burial, and resurrection.⁵⁴ It is followed by another which uses the same image to present the church as the new Israel besieged by philosophers, heretics, Jews, and the plagues of various vices.⁵⁵ Peter Lombard also used the triumphal song of the Israelites over the bodies of the Egyptians submerged in the Red Sea, "*Cantemus domino gloriose enim magnificatus est equuem*," to similarly urge his audience to cross the Red Sea while carrying the stigmata of Christ on their bodies. He exhorts them to imitate the Israelites' consumption of the paschal lamb, unleavened bread, and bitter herbs and their adoption of the pilgrims' staff and sandals by spiritually fortifying themselves with the life-giving bread cooked upon the altar of the cross with the bitter herbs of contrition, the staff of the scriptures, and the examples of the flesh-mortifying saints.⁵⁶

Another slighter later sermon to priests (preserved in a cluster of homilies recorded in Paris and preached during crusade preparations in the 1210s) similarly urged its clerical audience to imitate the Israelites in singings songs of praise when rescued from the Red Sea (in liturgical support of the crusade), to focus on the heavenly Jerusalem and to preach Christ crucified to the people and urge them to do penance. Another sermon from the same manuscript noted that the Israelites were accompanied into battle by musical instruments and that God would break the strength of spiritual and physical enemies through clerical intercession.⁵⁷ In a sermon for Passion Sunday, James of Vitry similarly depicted the manifold vices assailing his audiences as the plagues visited upon Egypt. In another homily for the same feast day he also took up the theme of the Israelites preparing for the Passover (Good Friday) through receiving the paschal lamb (in the Eucharist), girding their loins (through chastity), and putting on the protective shoes of the examples furnished by the saints and in the sacred scriptures. He concluded this sermon by urging his audience to meditate on the passion of Christ as the Israelites had upon the bronze serpent; in so doing, his listeners would free themselves from sin and become

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- 54 See Peter Lombard, *Convertamini et agite penitentiam*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 104va–106vb. This sermon follows a Maundy Thursday sermon (*Pone mensam* [Is. 21.5], fols. 102ra–104va) and appears to be either for Easter or Good Friday. For the attribution of the sermons from folios 88–109 of BnF 16506 to Peter Lombard, see Schneyer, *Repertorium*, 4:706.
- 55 Peter Lombard, *Egredimini et videte filie syon regem salomonem in diademate* (Cant. 3.11), BnF lat. 16506, fols. 106vb–108ra.
- 56 Odo of Cheriton, *Cantemus domino gloriose*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 51ra–va, at fol. 51ra–rb.
- 57 Anonymous, *Item in sinodo*, BnF n.a.l. 999, fols. 193ra–195vb; Anonymous, *Quis stabit pro me adversum malos*, BnF n.a.l. 999, fols. 233vb–234rb.

emboldened to take up Christ's cross and withstand detractors' insults. The theme of the Passover Tau and the Israelites' pilgrimage out of Egypt into the desert was commonly interpreted by reformers and biblical exegetes, including Innocent III before the Fourth Lateran Council, as embracing penance (including the crusader's cross) and abandoning sin. It would be eloquently, if geographically erroneously, applied by James of Vitry and Oliver of Paderborn to the ideal mindset of the pilgrim crusader and to the actions of the army of the Fifth Crusade (which in fact left the Holy Land to assault Egypt).⁵⁸

The biblical story is continued in Peter Lombard's very next sermon, which presents the Israelites faced with various temptations in the desert as embodying the verse beloved of monastic and reform preachers alike: "militia est enim et temptatio vita hominis super terram" (Job 7.1). Those who belong to Christ must take up his cross and crucify the flesh with its vices and desires, partly through meditation on and celebration of the crucified Christ. The four dimensions of the cross symbolize the need to nail their affect and actions to Christ's cross, practice charity towards their enemies, persevere, and seek heavenly things. Peter follows many a Maundy Thursday or Good Friday sermon in calling his audience to emulate the good thief in embracing the cross of penance to recover after relapse. He explicates the steps of penance and stresses the thief's immediate entry into heaven. Simon Cyrene and the bad thief symbolize those forced to carry their cross who do not persevere: hypocrites and false Christians. As did many contemporary crusade appeals, Peter plays on the meaning of sycamore, or fool's fig, to stress that the preaching of the cross is foolishness to those ensnared in the world and the gentiles. He calls his audience to take up the cross of Christ (martyrdom) or the good thief (penance) and so attain salvation. Those buried with Christ will rise with him.⁵⁹

Other crusade sermons from later periods used the imagery of climbing the sycamore or palm to urge audiences to follow the example of the good thief and Saints Andrew, Peter, Lawrence and other martyrs. They too ought to imitate Christ's sufferings by taking the crusader's cross and/or the cross of

58 James of Vitry, *Dominica in passione*, ed. Ligno, pp. 307–311; compare James of Vitry, *Sermo ad cruce signatos vel –signandos*, 2.1–12, 42, ed. Maier, pp. 100–108, 124; Bird, "Victorines," 22–25; Bird, "James of Vitry's Sermons to Pilgrims;" Jessalynn Bird, "Preaching and Narrating the Campaign of the Fifth Crusade: Bible, Liturgy, and Sermons," in *The Uses of the Bible in Crusading Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 316–340; Innocent III, *In concilio generali*, PL 217: 674, 676–677.

59 Peter Lombard, *Statue tibi speculam*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 108rb–109va; Peter of Capua, *Sermo ad cruce signatos*, BnF n.a.l. 999, fols. 199ra–200rb; Anonymous, *Tria genera hominum*, BnF lat. 14470, fols. 335vb–338rb; Bird, "Victorines," 24; and note 73 below. For similar explications of the sycamore, see note 32 above.

penance to receive the reward of paradise. When preaching in support of Louis VIII's crusade against the Albigensian heretics, Philip the Chancellor and Odo of Chateauroux would similarly utilize the crucifixion tableau to call every element of western Christendom to contribute to the crusade (through prayer, paying taxes, preaching, almsgiving, participating in processions or fighting) and to label detractors and opponents as the villains of the crucifixion scene.⁶⁰ The crucifixion scene became a powerful way to explain and graphically imprint on audiences' minds the relatively new extended opportunities for participation in the crusade by all social categories and both genders.

A sermon of Odo of Cheriton follows contemporary crusade appeals in attributing Saladin's capture of Jerusalem to the vices of the clergy and laity, including concubinary priests and usurers. The Devil alienated humankind from the heavenly king through Adam's fall, but God provides a key to heaven in Christ's passion. Although an earthly king would not pardon a brigand on the scaffold, embrace him, and give him all his possessions, Christ did this for them.⁶¹ Odo calls his audience to take up the cross through penance, whether through discipline of the flesh, compassion, renouncing their own will, shedding their blood, or crucifying their vices and desires. When they see the cross in church they should recall Christ's passion and imitate it. The *milites Christi* are marked with the apocalyptic seal of the cross, the sign of the Tau from Ezekiel, against which no host can triumph. Like a new Israel, his audience today ought to feed from the Eucharist and preaching which is offered to them as in the original Passover feast, coming to the table properly prepared with girded loins, a staff, and sandals. Otherwise unworthy recipients eat and drink judgment upon themselves and re-crucify Christ, a message stressed too in moralized Bibles intended for royal audiences in France.⁶² The imagery utilized by Odo was echoed in contemporary sermons and legislation in support of the crusade (including Innocent III's address to the Fourth Lateran Council) and conjoined reform efforts which included the discipline of the clergy and crackdowns on prostitutes, priestly paramours, and usurers. Fears concerning the proper reception or tainting of the Eucharist by celebrant and recipients alike were a mainstay of reformers preaching the crusade. Such fears were only heightened by the increasingly centrality of the Mass to crusade preparations

60 See note 9 above.

61 Odo of Cheriton, *Claude sermones et signa librum*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 119ra–120vb, at fol. 119vb; compare James of Vitry, *Sermo ad cruce signatos vel –signandos*, 1.11–12, ed. Maier, pp. 106–108; *Brevis ordinacio*, pp. 4–6, 10–11, 16; Bird, “Victorines,” 22–23; Bird, “Crusade and Reform.”

62 *Brevis ordinacio*, 10–11, 22–23; note 58 above; *Bible Moralisee*, *Codex Vindobonensis* 2554, fol. 20r-v.

and focus on the doctrine of transubstantiation. Christ's salvific sacrifice was reenacted in every Mass, the very Masses into which prayers for divine assistance for the crusading effort had been inserted.⁶³

Peter Lombard's sermon labeled "On the passion and penance" likewise glossed the Israelite's preparations for Passover (through smearing the blood of the paschal lamb on their doorposts) as the need to imitate Christ's passion and life and the death of martyrs in humility, cleanliness of body, ashes, and penance, just as on Ash Wednesday penitents are cleansed by the water of baptism and the blood of Christ's passion.⁶⁴ He invokes the image of the Tau, as a sign of election and safety, and also "Arise, O North Wind" (*Surge aquilo*, Cant. 4.16), a verse beloved of crusade recruiters. Listing various Old Testament prefigurations of the passion, Peter goes through Christ's sufferings step by step, calling his audience to take up the cross voluntarily and bear insults for Christ, just as Abraham abandoned possessions and homeland for God.⁶⁵ In many Palm Sunday and crusading appeals Abraham also featured as an example for crusaders and pilgrims to emulate, while in contemporary moralized Bibles he was depicted as a pilgrim wearing a crusader's cross.⁶⁶

Another piece of striking evidence for the influence of the passion on crusade preaching and of crusade preaching on passion imagery comes from Odo of Cheriton's treatise on the Passion.⁶⁷ It opens with an evocation of *Vexilla regis prodeunt*, a chant traditionally used on the feast days of the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross, Palm Sunday, and Good Friday. Following contemporary crusade sermons, Odo uses the *Vexilla* to depict God as a heavenly king who promises eternal rewards and victory to those following the banner of the cross against his mortal enemies. As did many others, Odo merges this image with that of the Israelites processing around Jericho with trumpets which represent preaching against vice, an image powerfully invoked by the first crusaders in their assault of Jerusalem and by preachers including Oliver of Paderborn and James of Vitry during the Fifth Crusade.⁶⁸ The image of

63 Bird, "Crusade and Reform;" Bird, "Heresy, Crusade and Reform," pp. 31–85; Bird, "Synodal Sermons."

64 Peter Lombard, *Tingite fasciculum*, BnF 16506, fols. 49va–50ra and *Spiritus oris nostri*, fols. 50ra–va.

65 Peter Lombard, *Spiritus oris nostri*, fols. 50rb–va and *Percute pastorem*, fols. 50va–51ra.

66 James of Vitry, *Dominica in passione*, ed. Ligno, pp. 307–311; Bird, "James of Vitry's Sermons to Pilgrims," 83–84, 89–90; *Bible Moralisée*, *Codex Vindobonensis* 2554, fol. 4r.

67 Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the passion*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 272va–285rb; and note 65 below.

68 Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the passion*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 272va–vb. Similar militaristic and banner imagery is found in Anonymous, *Quis stabit pro me adversum malos*, BnF n.a.l. 999, fols. 233ra–va; James of Vitry, *Sermo ad cruce signatos vel –signandos*, 1.7–8, 20, ed.

the banner becomes a call to imitate Christ's sufferings on the cross (including his five wounds) and to conquer the Devil, as did Christ, unfurling one's banner through oral confession, almsgiving, fasting and prayer. Evoking a verse traditional to Holy Week and beloved of crusade preachers, "Who is this who comes from Edom" (Is. 63.1), Odo presents the banner as dyed red through Christ's suffering, through which he conquered the Devil and the world and harrowed hell.⁶⁹ He then depicts a spiritual battle between the army of Christ and a diabolically apocalyptic army of sinners bearing banners painted with beasts symbolizing their vices. Referencing *Eripe me Domine* (Ps. 139.2), which was sung on Good Friday, Odo followed liturgists, James of Vitry, and contemporary crusade sermons delivered in Paris by Peter of Capua the Younger and other anonymous preachers in claiming that just as David conquered Goliath with a staff and satchel, so Christ musters an army composed of martyrs, confessors, virgins, and innocents under the banner of the lamb and the staff of his cross.⁷⁰ He and other homilists used apocalyptic imagery and presented the converted as the new Israel capable of defeating the Devil (the beast of the Apocalypse), Edom, and a world full of animals representing various sins through contemplating the cross. In the ecclesiastical army, each order has its own vocation and it is the duty of preachers to call others from vice to virtue so that they do not eat and drink judgment upon themselves when consuming the Eucharist on Maundy Thursday.⁷¹

Drawing on themes from Palm Sunday and Holy Week, Odo calls his audience to emulate the Israelite's preparations for the proper reception of Christ, sacrificed as the paschal lamb on Good Friday and embodied in the Eucharist. They ought to consume the bitter herbs of compunction, gird up their loins

Maier, pp. 87–89, 97–99; James of Vitry, *Sermo ad cruce signatos vel –signandos*, 2.8, 10, 12, ed. Maier, pp. 105–107, 109; Anonymous, *Ad cruce signatos*, BnF n.a.l. 999, fols. 240ra–vb. For liturgy, Jericho and the crusades, see David Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War: c.300–1215* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2003); Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), esp. pp. 273–293; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, pp. 84–85; Bird, "Preaching and Narrating."

69 Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the Passion*, BnF lat. 16506, fol. 272vb. For Edom/Bosra, see Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrare*, PL 213:295; *Sarum Missal*, p. 95; John the Teuton (?), *Sermo in ascensione Domini*, BnF MS 14525, fols. 112ra–114vb; *Brevis ordinacio*, pp. 24–25; Peter of Capua, *Sermo ad cruce signatos*, BnF n.a.l. 999, fols. 199ra–200rb, here fol. 200rb; James of Vitry, *Feria quinta in coena Domini*, ed. Ligno, p. 331; note 68 below.

70 Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the passion*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 272vb–273ra; John Belet, *Summa*, p. 171; Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrare*, PL 213:313, 319; Peter of Capua, *Consurgamus adversum edom in proelium*, BnF n.a.l. 999, fols. 266va–67va; Anonymous, *Canite tuba in Sion*, BnF n.a.l. 999, fols. 193ra–195vb; Bird, "Victorines," 25–28; *Brevis ordinacio*, pp. 14–17; James of Vitry, *Sermo ad cruce signatos vel –signandos*, 2.39, ed. Maier, pp. 122–123.

71 Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the passion*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 273va–275ra, 276vb.

with charity, and put on shoes (the examples of the fathers and saints), taking up their staves to reduce their body to servitude and do good works. The foot washing of Maundy Thursday likewise stands for the sinner cleansed through the passion who, by meditating on it, undertakes the burden of penance to fast and suffer with Christ, then dons the shoes of divine commands which protect him from the dangers of various vices. He concludes with stern warnings against unworthy priests celebrating and the proper reverence which ought to be shown to the *corpus Christi*.⁷² This focus on penance and nervousness about potential tainting of redemptive sacrifice of Christ embodied in the Eucharist were common components of contemporary crusade and reform sermons, treatises, and legislation, which focused on the comportment of lay recipients and the chastity and motives of celebrants. The efficacy of the suffrages generated through public prayers and the mass, highlighted in daily intercessions for the Holy Land and the monthly liturgical processions carried out for the crusade on the day of the passion (Friday) were in turn tied to the spiritual underwriting of the crusade's various indulgences. The processions were linked also to almsgiving for the crusade as participants deposited their offerings in the wooden chests placed in each church hosting processions. Almsgiving was a traditional component of rogational intercessions and the Lenten season, and Odo stresses that his audience ought also to comfort the poor. Lent and Holy Week were also traditional times for embarking on pilgrimages and Odo's treatise and his sermon for Easter praise the benefits of pilgrimage while noting the dangers and hardships facing pilgrims.⁷³ He also stresses the power of prayer—the bidding prayers of Good Friday traditionally appealed for aid against spiritual and earthly enemies and had been quickly adopted for the Holy Land liturgy.⁷⁴

Odo also follows contemporary preachers including Oliver of Paderborn, James of Vitry, John of Abbeville, Philip the Chancellor, and Odo of Chateauroux in savaging corrupt clergymen as Judases who betray Christ in various ways, including focusing on royal service rather than the liturgy and pastoral care, abusing the sword of excommunication to obtain money, and scandalizing the people through their luxurious living. However, he does not spare the regular religious who take dirty money from usurers, kings who oppressively tax their subjects, or the laity. He portrays sinners and detractors as villains in

72 Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the passion*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 274va–276ra, 283vb, 284ra–rb.

73 Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the passion*, BnF lat. 16506, fol. 276ra. For rogational processions and sermons and their importance for the understanding of crusading liturgy, see Bird, “Rogations, Litanies and Crusade Preaching.”

74 Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the passion*, BnF lat. 16506, fol. 277rb; and notes 2, 19, 24, and 38 above.

the Passion tableau who strike, mock, and re-crucify Christ by participating in spectacles, songs and dances, the courts, the pursuit of the classics and horses, usury, lust, gluttony, avarice, and pride. Utilizing a major theme in crusade appeals after *Audita tremendi*, he argues that the inhabitants of Jerusalem have sinned and gone over to the Devil and Babylon, resulting in Jerusalem's spiritual captivity, comparable to its sack by the Romans. He holds up the bishop of Toulouse who placed his children into religious houses as a counter-example, perhaps referring to Fulk of Toulouse.⁷⁵

Citing "Far be it from me to glory" (Gal. 6.14), Odo calls his audience to emulate the good thief in adopting the cross of penance, regular religion, or poverty. Hypocrites seeking favor and rustics laboring for riches suffer like the bad thief who was damned, whereas if they labored in the same way for Christ, they would be saved, like the martyrs and the good thief ushered directly into heaven. The good thief becomes a potent symbol of the redemptive power of the passion. Odo urges his audience not to despair, for the first indulgence was granted to the good thief on cross of penance, just as Peter recovered from his triple denial through confession. Christ did not say you will be in paradise after so many years or months but "today," implying a very brief time. This is certainly true for those signed with the cross. As Christ's associates, they hang like the good thief on the cross to his right, and earn the remission of both venial and mortal sins of which they have repented "today," going on the very day they die to Christ in paradise. Those who wish to be with Christ must deny themselves, take up their crosses, and follow him, nailing their feet and hands of flesh and spirit to the cross with the fear of God. Like Christ they ought to extend their hands in expending everything for love of God and showing love (*caritas*) to both friends and enemies. They ought to persevere on the cross until dead, suffering hunger and thirst, heat and cold. Odo's evocation of the thief as an exemplar of the first indulgence is nearly identical to that of liturgists, Palm Sunday sermons, and a contemporary anonymous crusade appeal preserved in BN Ms. Lat. 14470, which claims that the good thief demonstrated the first grant of indulgence because his contrition, confession, and crucifixion annulled his *pena* and *culpa* so that he flew to paradise on the same day as his death.⁷⁶

75 Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the passion*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 277rb–282vb. For crackdowns on usury and clerical "corruption" allied with crusade preparations, see note 50 above and Bird, "Heresy, Crusade and Reform;" Bird, "Preaching the Fifth Crusade;" Bird, "Reform or Crusade? Anti-Usury and Crusade Preaching During the Pontificate of Innocent III," in *Pope Innocent III and His World*, ed. John C. Moore (Farnham: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 165–187.

76 Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the Passion*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 276va, 281va–vb; Bird, "Victorines," 23, 25; John Belet, *Summa*, pp. 170–171; Sicard of Cremona, *Mitræle*, PL 213:302, 311, 319;

Odo then refers to a letter of Oliver of Paderborn, whom he had met in Paris, addressed to the papal legate Robert Courson, recounting the cross apparitions which graced Oliver's crusade recruiting in Frisia at Bedum on the Friday before Pentecost in 1213. Taking as his theme "Far be it from me to glory," Oliver preached to a packed church and his lay audience promptly saw several crosses in the sky, including one with the crucified Christ. One local layman interpreted this as a prophecy and, calling out, "Now the Holy Land is recovered!" took the cross, while another knight who was following Oliver saw the heavenly crucifix and followed suit. Other wealthy and devout women saw the signs as well, and after this vision thousands more took the cross.⁷⁷ Odo's reception and incorporation of Oliver's newsletter into his treatise on Christ's Passion illustrates the wide diffusion of cross apparitions among contemporary preachers as evidence of the *imitatio Christi* their audiences were being called to embrace, and also as a poignant and infuriating reminder of the captivity of Jerusalem and the relic of the True Cross. Preachers for Holy Week, the crusade, and the feasts of the Exaltation and Invention of the Cross naturally adapted anecdotes concerning the prophylactic powers of the sign of the cross from Gregory the Great's homilies. The presentation of the cross as a sign of the elect and spiritual talisman against vice, the devil, physical enemies, and natural disasters was a common trope in homilies and the liturgy. Anonymous crusade sermons, Oliver of Paderborn's letters and histories, James of Vitry's sermons to crusaders and pilgrims, and Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum* (written for his abbot Henry, who preached the crusade with Oliver and John of Xanten), are also filled with contemporary accounts of cross apparitions and anecdotes stressing the power of the crusader's cross to save from spiritual and physical harm attributed to Oliver of Paderborn, Robert Courson, James of Vitry, William of Pont de l'Arche, Guy of Vaux-de-Cernay, John of Xanten, and other preachers who recruited in and around Paris, Flanders-Brabant, Germany, and England. A second round of cross miracles would be attributed to preaching for the crusade of Frederick II in the 1220s.⁷⁸

Odo's treatise brims with more themes with direct links to the crusade, including the custom of burial in Jerusalem so that the devout would rise with Christ at the Last Judgment, the legend of Longinus and the lance (the relic of which featured prominently during the First Crusade and was utilized by

Bird, "Preaching the Crusade and the Liturgical Year," Phillips, "Thief's Cross," 143–156.

77 Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the Passion*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 282vb–83ra.

78 Bird, "Victorines;" Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, 10,32–33, 37–40, ed. J. Strange, 2 vols. (Cologne: H. Lempertz, 1851), 2:240–241, 245–246; Bird, Peters, and Powell, eds., *Crusade and Christendom*, pp. 143–154, 231–235, 238–240.

Humbert of Romans in his crusade preaching treatise), and the conviction that Christ's sacrifice would convert all peoples and lead them into the "ark" of the church.⁷⁹ Returning to the *de miseria humanae conditione* scenario with which he opened his treatise, a common trope in crusade and reform appeals, Odo presents humankind as a *vas stercora*, created and redeemed by Christ. Just as man fell through the five senses, so he is cleansed and saved through Christ's five wounds, ransomed like a captive freed from prison. He calls his audience not to return to the tribulations of the world and momentary delights which lead to death, but to renounce sin, embrace good works, and crucify themselves with Christ to share his eternal blessedness.⁸⁰

James of Vitry's sermons for Passion Sunday likewise used the hymn *Vexilla regis prodeunt* to call his audience to rise from the tomb of sin through confession and follow Christ into spiritual battle by taking up their crosses as *milites Christi*.⁸¹ His audience's sins created the instruments of Christ's passion, therefore they ought at least to shed tears and suffer with him through confession, contrition, tears, fasting, prayers, and works of mercy, in order to reign with him. Christ's cross is either resurrection or ruin. God's chastisement in this world is to spare his listeners in the future, symbolized by Moses parting the Red Sea, the blood of the Passover lamb, the scapegoat, and the ten plagues. By meditating on Christ's sacrifice his audience will be freed from the plagues of worldly vice. James' list of plagues and the sins they represent bear remarkable similarity to the images of the contemporary moralized Bibles produced in Paris, including the lustful and gluttonous, usurers, sophists, and heretics. He interprets the blood of the Passover lamb which freed the Israelites from the final plague as faith in and the intention of imitating Christ's passion, which opened the door to paradise and separates the elect from the damned. The soul is sustained by the staff of the holy cross which distinguishes God's people and defeats the enemy just Moses' rod did. Although the cross of Christ seems foolishness, Christ's death and infirmity conquered and still conquers death

79 Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the Passion*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 283ra–rb. For the Holy Lance, see Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, pp. 205–229; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, pp. 59, 72, 84, 95–125; Humbert of Romans, *Liber de predicatione sanctae crucis*, transcribed by Kurt Villads Jensen at <http://www.jggj.dk/saracenos.htm>, fols. 46a, 47a, 49a.

80 Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the Passion*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 283va–vb, 285ra–rb. For the *vas stercora*, see Anonymous, *Tria genera hominum*, BnF lat. 14470, fols. 335vb–338ra; Anonymous, *De commendacione crucis*, BnF lat. 14470, fols. 319rb–321rb, at 318vb; Anonymous, *Videmus nunc per speculum*, BnF Lat. 14470, fols. 302rb–305va, at fols. 302va–vb; Bird, "James of Vitry's Sermons to Pilgrims," 88, 96, 100–102.

81 James of Vitry, *Dominica in Passione*, ed. Ligno, pp. 299–302.

and the Devil.⁸² A second sermon for Passion Sunday heralds the banner of the cross being unfurled as its mysteries are openly explicated. As had Odo, James works his way systematically through Old Testament prefigurations of the passion, presenting Christ as the paschal lamb whose blood cleanses James' audience when they contemplate Christ's passion.⁸³

Odo's Easter Sunday sermon illustrates how all the themes of Holy Week were reviewed and united in one homily.⁸⁴ Referring to readings for Palm Sunday and various versions of the passion, he attacks physicians and legists who abuse knowledge to gain money and others intent on worldly things. They ought instead to emulate pilgrims and Christ, preparing themselves throughout Lent with fasting and penance (as did the Israelites for the paschal lamb) so they can receive the Eucharist at Easter without judgment.⁸⁵ Pilgrimage was one of the themes of the Easter liturgy, and Easter Sunday was a traditional time for many to depart on pilgrimages, including the crusade. Odo develops the theme, explaining that pilgrims are those who go to holy places and urging his audience to imitate Christ the true pilgrim in always proceeding towards paradise rather than hell. A pilgrim on the road who sees a house on fire continues onward and so when pilgrims forfeit earthly possessions they should not be worried, because they will have to abandon them at death anyway. Through his passion Christ has prepared a place for them in paradise. The pilgrim builds up the walls of Jerusalem, and so his audience ought to mourn if through their sins they instead destroy it and build a house in hell. Similar to a pilgrim roughed up by the citizens of a foreign city, pilgrims should patiently withstand the insults of the powerful and rich and other transitory misfortunes while seeking the heavenly Jerusalem.⁸⁶

Odo explains that because many customarily depart on pilgrimage on Easter day, he will speak of what is necessary for *peregrini*: the staff of the cross, the satchel for storing up, the cloak of longsuffering, the clothing of virtues, the shoes of divine commands, and the *signacula*, the example of the saints. Invoking "Free me O Lord from the mouth of the lion," a verse traditionally associated with the Passion Sunday or Palm Sunday liturgy,⁸⁷ Odo portrays the pilgrim's staff that is Christ's cross as powerful against the dogs of hell who lie

82 Ibid., 299–302; *Bible Moralisée, Codex Vindobonensis 2554*, fols. 18v–22r.

83 James of Vitry, *Eadem dominica (in passione) thema sumptum de epistola ad Hebraeos 9*, ed. Ligno, pp. 303–307; compare Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the Passion*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 281ra–rb.

84 Odo of Cheriton, *In die sancto pasche s. marcum*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 162rb–165va.

85 Odo of Cheriton, *In die sancto pasche s. marcum*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 162rb–vb, 163vb–164ra.

86 Odo of Cheriton, *In die sancto pasche s. marcum*, BnF lat. 16506, fol. 164va–vb.

87 See Bird, "Preaching the Crusade;" and <http://cantusdatabase.org/>.

in wait along the road of this present life and attack through present *culpa* and future *pena*. Similar to David and Christ, pilgrims can defeat Goliath (the Devil) with the staff of the cross by signing themselves with it continually according to Jerome's advice. The satchel holds the heavenly bread of preaching, which sustains his audience while they journey to paradise. The pilgrim should beware worldly delights and riches, which devour it like mice, and lust, which like a warmed serpent mortally envenoms its host. The cape shields its wearer against the elements, and so patience enables pilgrims to resist temptation and persecution similar to Stephen, Paul, Laurence, and other martyrs.⁸⁸ Odo's advice to pilgrims mirrors that which James of Vitry offered to crusader-pilgrims and, following contemporary crusade appeals, Odo also invoked the example of the Maccabees and the image of the sun reflecting on golden shields to illustrate that when laypersons imitate the examples of the saints (or prelates imitate Christ's virtues to instruct the laity), demons and *gentes* are put to flight. His anonymous contemporary depicted the Maccabees' heroic resistance to spur his audiences to meditate on and imitate Christ's sufferings on the cross to conquer the Devil and his army of vices and with the sign of the holy cross, attain the true spiritual Jerusalem and an eternal reward via the crusade.⁸⁹ Odo concluded, as did James of Vitry's sermons to pilgrim-crusaders and letters home on the campaign of the Fifth Crusade, with *exempla* illustrating the unique comforts offered by God to dying pilgrims, whose souls are ushered immediately into heaven.⁹⁰

The presentation of the crusade as the ideal pilgrimage was a commonplace in recruiting appeals, including one in BnF Ms. Lat. 14470 where the preacher urges his audience to discipline their flesh through fasting, prayers, and long

88 Odo of Cheriton, *In die sancto pasche s. marcum*, BnF lat. 16506, fol. 165ra–rb.

89 Ibid., fol. 165rb; Bird, "James of Vitry's Sermons to Pilgrims;" Anonymous, *Sermo ad cruce-signatos*, BnF lat. n.a.l. 999, fols. 188ra–189vb. Both Odo and the anonymous preacher cite "Refulsit sol in clipeos aureos" (1 Macc. 6.38–40), traditionally sung on the feast of the Maccabees (<http://cantusdatabase.org/id/007518>). For the image of Maccabees as holy warriors applied to crusaders, see: Nicholas Morton, "The Defence of the Holy Land and the Memory of the Maccabees," *Journal of Medieval History* 36/3 (2010): 275–293, esp. 287–289. For the Maccabees in crusade propaganda by other Paris masters, see James of Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, ed. Jean Donnadieu, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 100–102, 248; James of Vitry, *Lettres*, eps. 3, 5, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Leiden: Brill, 1964), pp. 100, 116; James of Vitry, *Sermo ad cruce-signatos vel –signandos*, 1.16, ed. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, p. 94; Odo of Chateauroux, *Sermo in conversione sancti Pauli*, 1.25, ed. Maier, p. 140 and *Sermo de invitatione ad crucem*, 2.1–2, 2.8–13 ed. Maier, pp. 144–146, 148–150; Gilbert of Tournai, *Ad cruce-signatos et cruce-signandos*, 1.12–13, ed. Maier, pp. 182–184; Humbert of Romans, *Liber de predicatione sanctae crucis*, fols. 10b, 17a, 32a–b, 51a–b.

90 Odo of Cheriton, *In die sancto pasche s. marcum*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 165rb–va; Bird, "James of Vitry's Sermons to Pilgrims," 86–87, 101–102.

journeys as did Saints Denis and Martin. No one who dies on road to Compostela or the Virgin Mary is ever damned and now the Lord is offering three purgatorial lands: the cross defeats the Saracens in Spain and the Albigensians, and so too by the power of God it will prevail in the Holy Land, for if his audience sings *Dulce lignum, dulce clavos* (a hymn traditionally sung on Good Friday and the feasts of the cross), the walls will fall before them (perhaps a reference to the First Crusaders' emulation of the Israelites before Jericho). Many, particularly the sinful, shun those preaching power of cross, but the perfected cherish the memory of Christ's passion, preaching its power and rejecting riches and worldly honors. Some are fainthearted like Zacheus, who climbed the sycamore tree, and they make excuses, saying they do not dare to take the cross and endure the crusade's hardships. The sycamore means Christ's cross; those who take it up are condemned as foolish by the world, and yet by this sweet foolishness those who abandon all for Christ will earn the crowns of martyrs, the innocent, and confessors, and they will be greeted by *Cantemus domino gloriose*. Explaining the consequences of Adam's fall in a *de miseria conditionis* scenario stressing the Devil's power over sinners, who are condemned at the Last Judgment, the preacher stresses that those signed with the cross can respond to Christ's display of the signs of his redemptive passion that they too have suffered and were prepared to die in return for Christ's sacrifice and so will be eternally blessed.⁹¹ Here we have a clear case of a preacher active in Paris adapting themes from Palm Sunday and Holy Week (including Good Friday) to the preaching of the crusade.

Another crusade recruiter claimed that just as pilgrims eagerly hear news of their homeland from messengers and letters, so too his listeners are all pilgrims exiled because of Adam's sin. Every day they journey toward hell or paradise. Calling them to manifest their conversion through confession, works of satisfaction and mercy, prayer, fasting, and almsgiving, he invokes "*Surge aquilo*" to describe Christ's cross as signified by the mulberry, sycamore, and palm trees. Just as elephants are animated to battle by the blood of mulberries and silkworms transform its leaves into silk, so those signed with the cross endure its bitter roots and medicinal leaves to attain spiritual fruit and eternal glory. He closes with *exempla* demonstrating the cross's power, including Gregory the Great's tales of a possessed nun and a converted Jew. However, he notes that many are put off by the cross's bitterness, heedless of the danger threatening them. Perhaps drawing on the themes of Palm Sunday, whose readings call

91 Anonymous, *De commendacione crucis*, BnF lat. 14470, fols. 319ra–321rb; compare *Brevis ordinacio*, pp. 21–22; Bird, "Preaching the Crusade and the Liturgical Year;" and note 55 above.

on God to free the sinner from the lion and unicorn and portray the devil as a dragon, the author concludes with the well-known story of a man pursued by these beasts utilized also by Odo of Cheriton and James of Vitry.⁹²

One consequence of Innocent III's command that the crusade be preached by all those with the care of souls on a cyclical basis was the institutionalization of crusade preaching. Preachers quickly turned to the liturgical year, particularly Holy Week and the feasts of the cross, for appropriate material. There is eloquent testimony too of the increasing importance of participation in the crusading home front and the presentation of the crusade as a form of penance available to all social groups. The crusader began to be cited as an example of an ideal penitent in sermons for Palm Sunday and Holy Week and in other contexts. The Paternoster was one of the prayers meant to be recited by all devout laypersons, particularly as a form of penance or when participating in the processions organized for the crusade. Odo of Cheriton's treatise on the Paternoster illustrates how the presentation of the crusader as penitent and imitator of Christ's passion had entered mainstream devotion.⁹³ He uses the image of the wood of the cross to summarize the redemption story embodied in the salvific Eucharist which, with meditation on Christ's sacrifice and preaching, was his audience's daily bread. He claims that many have devoutly received the sign of the cross on their shoulders or on their chest and have exposed themselves to many dangers against the enemies of Christ's cross. Christ made death sweet by voluntarily suffering it for his listeners and so they ought not to fear it. For crusaders, death is a mercy and entrance to glory.⁹⁴ They have sweetened the sepulcher because many kings and princes have left their own lands and crossed the sea to visit the Christ's tomb. "Forgive us our debts" and "free us from evil" are glossed with culturally familiar examples of begging pardon from one's captor or mortal enemy by prostration in cruciform. So sinners ought to do the same with Christ, who will spare them when they take up the cross of penance.⁹⁵ The crusade-preaching treatise titled *Brevis ordinacio* would similarly use "thy kingdom come" to call its audience to take up

92 Anonymous, *Tria genera hominum*, BnF lat. 14470, fols. 335vb–338rb, at fol. 336rb; compare Bird, "Victorines," 24–25; *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. Thomas F. Crane (London: David Nutt, 1890), no. 134, pp. 191–192; *The Fables of Odo of Cheriton*, trans. John C. Jacobs (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), pp. 120–121.

93 Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the Paternoster* (pre-1219), BnF lat. 16506, fols. 266vb–272va.

94 Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the Paternoster*, BnF lat. 16506, fols. 270ra, 272ra.

95 Odo of Cheriton, *Treatise on the Paternoster*, BnF lat. 16506, fol. 271rb. For cruciform petitioners, see Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).

their cross and follow Christ, who will reign in them and they in heaven.⁹⁶ The image of the crusader had become embedded in the very prayer which Paris-trained preachers were promoting as the hallmark of orthodoxy in the fight against heresy.

Once required to preach the crusade on a cyclical basis, preachers turned to the imagery of Good Friday and Holy Week to call their audiences to various forms of participation in the crusade: processions, personal reform, almsgiving, and the liturgical clamor in aid of the Holy Land inserted into the Mass. One sermon to penitents immediately followed by a crusade appeal (in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 999) urged its audience to crucify the flesh with its vices and desires and to avail themselves of the Eucharist to defeat the roaring lion of the Devil, but only after preparing themselves properly through continence, good works, penance, and the example of the saints like the Israelites preparing to eat the paschal lamb.⁹⁷ The crusade-recruiting sermon immediately following it urged its audience to impress the stigmata of Christ's passion in their heart, to convert and crucify themselves through the discipline of the flesh. Presenting Christ as a *fideiussor* who pays mankind's debts, the preacher calls on Old Testament precursors to Christ's sacrifice to urge his listeners to confess and perform penance to purge themselves from *pena* and win eternal life.⁹⁸ Another selected a verse beloved of recruiters to urge potential crusaders to place Christ like a sign in their hearts (Cant. 8.6) by meditating on his passion. Addressing the cloistered, the preacher urges them to imitate the good thief in crucifying themselves to the world, persevering on the cross until death to achieve his reward, and to fight vice through imitating the crucified Christ.⁹⁹

Peter of Capua used the image of the cross as foolishness for the Jews and gentiles, and that of the sycamore and the palm to urge his audience to recall Christ's passion and follow the examples of Saints Andrew, Peter, Lawrence, and other martyrs and the good thief in emulating it to regain the paradise lost through Adam's fall.¹⁰⁰ Linking Christ's incarnation and redemptive sacrifice

96 *Brevis ordinacio*, p. 22.

97 Anonymous, *Ad penitentes*, BnF n.a.l. 999, fols. 239vb–240ra; compare *Brevis ordinacio*, p. 8 and the discussion above.

98 Anonymous, *Ad cruce signatos*, BnF n.a.l. 999, fols. 240ra–241va, here fols. 240ra–vb.

99 Anonymous, *Item ad cruce signatos*, BnF n.a.l. 999, fols. 240vb–241va, here 241ra–va; compare *Brevis ordinacio*, p. 23; James of Vitry, *Eadem dominica (in passione) thema sumptum de evangelio secundum iohannem*, ed. Ligno, pp. 307–311; James of Vitry, *Eadem dominica (in ramis palmarum) thema sumptum de epistola Philip. 2*, ed. Ligno, pp. 316–321; Gilbert of Tournai, *Ad cruce signatos et cruce signandos sermo primus*, 2.15, ed. Maier, p. 185.

100 Peter of Capua, *Ad cruce signatos*, BnF n.a.l. 999, fols. 199ra–200rb.

on the cross to that reenacted each day in the Eucharist, he urges his audience to take the cross in imitation of Christ as had the virgins and martyrs.¹⁰¹ Another crusade appeal delivered at Saint Anthony, a nunnery founded by the reformer and crusade preacher Fulk of Neuilly outside Paris, invoked the image of detractors deriding the honest faithful, humble, and penitents (including crusaders) as re-crucifying Christ in his members, and depicted Christ's cross as the door to paradise, the blood of the paschal lamb.¹⁰² The crucifixion scene familiar from the readings for Palm Sunday and Good Friday would similarly be powerfully invoked by Philip the Chancellor and Odo of Chateauroux while preaching the anti-heretical crusade of Louis VIII to call their audiences to participate in the crusade through self-reform, prayer, paying the contested crusade tax, and other forms of participation and to brand detractors of the crusade as villains in the crucifixion tableau.¹⁰³

In conclusion, themes from Holy Week and Good Friday dominated in sermons delivered to crusaders in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. This process was aided by several factors, including the loss of Jerusalem and the relic of the True Cross, which focused recruits' and audiences' attention on Christ's redemptive work, as did the enactment of a crusading liturgy which borrowed heavily from the bidding prayers of the Good Friday liturgy, and processions for the crusade instituted by Innocent III which fell deliberately on the first Friday of each month and included prayers inserted into the Mass for the deliverance of the Holy Land. The Good Friday liturgy traditionally focused on the symbolism of cross and overlapped heavily with the feasts of the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross, feasts traditionally associated with crusade preaching.

With the introduction of cyclical and institutionalized diocesan crusade preaching under Innocent III, preachers were required to come up with crusade appeals on at least a monthly basis, and the imagery of these feast days lent itself readily to the construction of crusade sermons. The promotion of the crusade became ever interwoven with that of various reforms and the crusade was presented as a unique yet accessible form of penance. The image of the crusader thus became embroidered onto the fabric of the domestic commemoration and emulation of Christ's passion. The crusader became an example of the ideal penitent, to be imitated in a manner similar to that

101 Peter of Capua, *Ad cruce signatos*, BnF n.a.l. 999, fol. 200ra–rb; compare *Brevis ordinacio*, p. 24.

102 Anonymous, *Sermo ad cruce signatos*, BnF lat. n.a.l. 999, fols. 187ra–188ra, at fols. 187vb–188ra.

103 See note 9 above.

of the martyrs or confessors. This is an important finding in light of the ever-increasing emphasis in crusading studies on the topic of the commemoration and reutilization of the crusades within the culture of Latin Christendom, and should signal to scholars that sermons and the liturgy are important sources for investigating the many ways in which the crusade contributed to the identity and self-fashioning of western Christendom.¹⁰⁴

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¹⁰⁴ The literature in this field is burgeoning. See the recent special edition of the *Journal of Medieval History* 40/3 (2014) and *Remembering Crusades and Crusaders*, ed. Megan Cassidy-Welch (New York: Routledge, 2016).

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The Typology of the Cross and Crusade Preaching

C. Matthew Phillips

“Let us lift up praises of the cross, we who rejoice over the special glory of the cross!”¹ In this way Adam of Saint-Victor began his sequence on the Holy Cross. Writing in the early twelfth century, Adam intended this poem to be sung between the Alleluia and Gospel readings in mass on the feasts associated with devotion to the Cross. The translator of this new edition of Adam’s *Sequences*, Juliet Mousseau, noted that these texts “formed a bridge between the Old Testament or Epistle readings and the Gospel.”² The text of Adam’s sequence in praise of the Holy Cross reads like a poetic sermon:

The sacraments are not new,
nor was this religion of the cross
recently invented.
It made the waters sweet,
Through it the stone produced water
by the office of Moses.

Following this section, Adam referred to the Passover and the widow of Zarephath’s gathering of wood for the prophet Elijah and he concluded: “Hidden in the Scriptures under figures, now these benefits of the cross lie open.”³

This statement reflects Hugh of Saint-Victor’s teaching concerning how to properly interpret the Bible. Following the patristic tradition, Hugh emphasized a threefold method of interpretation that included the historical, allegorical, and tropological senses. Following this scheme, the student of Holy

-
- 1 Adam of Saint-Victor, *Laudes crucis attollamus*, in *Adam of Saint-Victor Sequences*, ed. and trans. Juliet Mousseau (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), pp. 110–11. This is a Latin edition with an English translation.
 - 2 Juliet Mousseau, “Introduction,” in *Adam of Saint-Victor Sequences*, p. 5.
 - 3 *Laudes crucis attollamus*, pp. 112–13. The relevant biblical citations are Exodus 12.5–7 (Passover), Exodus 15.23–25 (wood makes water sweet), Exodus 17.6 (rock brings forth water), and 111 Kings 17.10 (Elijah and widow of Zarephath). All biblical citations refer to the *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. Robert Weber, 4th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994).

Scripture could discern God's deeds through history, extract the deeper meaning for faith through allegory, and learn how to live morally through tropology.⁴ Since the first century, Christian writers had used allegorical interpretation to find Christ in the Jewish Scriptures. Therefore, it is not surprising that patristic theologians understood numerous Old Testament objects and events to be types and foreshadowing events of Christ's crucifixion.⁵

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, numerous preachers and writers expanded on this typological exegesis associated with the cross of Christ. Devotion to the relics of the True Cross spread throughout medieval Europe and peaked in the twelfth century.⁶ Additionally, in the twelfth century medieval artists produced processional crosses, sculpture, stained glass, and reliquaries that combined elements of typological exegesis with images depicting the legends of the Invention and Exaltation of the relic of the True Cross.⁷ As twelfth-century theologian, John Belet, explained in his commentary on the liturgy of Good Friday, "the cross of the Lord was prefigured in the Old Testament in many ways."⁸

- 4 Mousseau, "Introduction," pp. 7–9; Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon* 5.2, 6.2–5, trans. Jerome Taylor (New York: Columbia, 1961), pp. 120–21, 135–45. On the development of the medieval exegetical tradition, the most complete work is still Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, trans. Mark Sebanc and E.M. Macierowski, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998–2009).
- 5 On the patristic tradition see G.Q. Reijnders, *The Terminology of the Holy Cross in Early Christian Literature* (Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1965).
- 6 On twelfth-century allegorical exegesis see Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, trans. Catharine Misrashi, 3rd ed. (New York: Fordham, 1982), pp. 79–84; Marie-Dominique Chenu, "The Old Testament in Twelfth-Century Theology," in *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century*, trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1968), pp. 146–61; C.M. Kauffmann, *Biblical Imagery in Medieval England, 700–1550* (London: Harvey Miller, 2003), pp. 76–89; Christopher Hughes, "Typology and Its Uses in the Moralized Bibles," in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, eds. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouche (Princeton: Princeton University, 2006), pp. 133–48. On the expansion of devotion to relics of the True Cross see Anatole Frolov, *La relique de la vraie croix* (Paris: Institut français d'Études Byzantines, 1961), pp. 55–152.
- 7 Emile Male, *Religious Art in France: The Twelfth Century*, trans. Marthiel Mathews, (Princeton: Princeton University, 1978), pp. 154–71; and Barbara Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood*, trans. Lee Preedy (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 80–132 (Invention), 133–93 (Exaltation). Baert includes an extensive discussion of the effect of the Crusades and Latin Christians' possession of Jerusalem in the twelfth century on artistic depictions of Heraclius on pp. 166–93. On these two liturgical festivals, see Stephan Borgehammar, *How the Holy Cross was Found* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1991); and Louis van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000).
- 8 John Belet, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* cap. 96, ed. Heriberto Douteil, CCCM 41-41a (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976), p. 173. The Latin text is "Crux Domini multis modis in veteri testamento fuit prefigurata."

Beginning with Urban II, crusade propagandists used forms of typological exegesis to proclaim their message. Katherine Allen Smith has recently demonstrated the influence of this exegetical tradition on the various chroniclers of the First Crusade.⁹ This essay will examine how crusade preachers in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries appropriated a specific form of typological exegesis associated with monastic and canonical sermons on the cross or Christ's passion. Particularly, they did so, in response to the loss of relic of the True Cross to Saladin's army in 1187 at the battle of Hattin. In the first section, this article analyzes examples of typological exegesis from the sermons and artworks of significant preachers and artists prior to the Third Crusade. The second part examines how, after 1187, crusade preachers connected to Parisian theologians and moral reformers used an established exegetical tradition to inspire medieval Christians to take up the cross or support crusading generally.¹⁰

Peter Damian, the ascetic, cardinal-bishop, and supporter of the papal reform movement in the eleventh century, extensively used typological exegesis in relation to Old Testament texts and the cross of Christ. In his sermon for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross Damian described the cross as a harmony of the Scriptures that delimited and integrated the Old and New Testament.¹¹ Following a similar theme in the sermon for the feast of the Invention of the Cross, he stated that the pages of sacred Scripture are filled with the mystery of the cross to which all the law points with types and symbols. Then Damian set forth a few examples that reflect commonplace references. For instance, Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son, Isaac, prefigured God the Father's offering of his only-begotten Son on the cross. In the same manner that Isaac carried the wood to the place of sacrifice, Christ bore the very wood upon which he was to be crucified. Alternatively, the ram that God provided in the

9 Katherine Allen Smith, "Glossing the Holy War: Exegetical Constructions of the First Crusade, c.1095–c.1146," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 10, 3rd series (2013): 1–39.

10 See C. Matthew Phillips, "The Thief's Cross: Crusade and Penance in Alan of Lille's *Sermo de cruce domini*," *Crusades* 6 (2006): 143–44; C. Matthew Phillips, "The Imitation of the Crucified Christ and Crusading Spirituality," in *Crusades: Medieval Worlds in Conflict*, eds. Thomas F. Madden, James L. Naus, and Vince Ryan (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 26–27. On the Parisian moral reformers' promotion of crusading, see Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy, 1991), pp. 112–17; and Jessalynn Bird, "Heresy, Crusade and Reform in the Circle of Peter the Chanter, c.1187–c.1240" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2001), pp. 36–37, 152–63; Jessalynn Bird, "The Victorines, Peter the Chanter's Circle, and the Crusade: Two Unpublished Crusading Appeals in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 14470," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 48 (2004): 5–28.

11 Peter Damian, *Sermo* 48.8, ed. Giovanni Lucchesi, CCCM 57 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1983), p. 298.

thicket for the sacrifice symbolized Christ's crucifixion for sinful humanity's redemption.¹²

Damian expanded his exegesis of the Old Testament by reference to other passages that foreshadowed the cross of Christ. Jacob's blessing of Joseph's younger sons with crossed hands gave witness to Christ's crucifixion. In a similar manner that Jacob blessed the younger son before the older, so Christ's redemption on the cross was applied to the Gentiles, since they now precede the Jews. Additionally, he discussed how Moses' wooden staff's transformation into a snake and power to bring forth water from a rock prefigured Christ and his crucifixion. Damian taught that Elisha's miracle of the piece of wood that brought a sunken axe out of the Jordan River symbolized Christ's incarnation and crucifixion. Damian applied the teaching of the cross to the monastic life when he explained how the smearing of lamb's blood at Passover on the doorframes and lintels was fulfilled in the Christian's bearing the cross on his forehead and heart.¹³

Honorius Augustodunensis, a prolific monastic theologian in the first half of the twelfth century, practiced the typological exegesis related to the cross and the Old Testament in many sermons. He made clear that the Church is the new Paradise, or garden of delights, because it contains the delights of Holy Scripture—that is, the doctrine and deeds of the apostles and prophets. In the same manner that the original garden contained the tree of life the Church contains the cross. Referring to Psalm 1:3, he stated, "This is the wood which is planted by the waters, because the holy cross is preached throughout all the streams of Scripture."¹⁴

Honorius then identified a series of typological depictions of the cross in the Old Testament. For instance, Abel's death by the wood of Cain's club represented the nailing of Christ to the cross. He also understood the ram among the thorn bushes that took Isaac's place on Abraham's altar as Christ caught among the Jews while sacrificing himself on the cross to the Father. Honorius understood the burning bush in which God spoke to Moses as Christ hanging on the cross in the presence of the envious, angry Jews. Additionally, the staff of Moses that turned into a snake and swallowed the serpents of Pharaoh's

12 Peter Damian, *Sermo* 18.2, CCCM 57:110–11. For the sacrifice of Isaac, see Genesis 22.1–14.

13 Peter Damian, *Sermo* 18.3–7, 13, CCCM 57:111–14, 119. The relevant biblical texts are Genesis 48.13–18 (Jacob's blessing); Exodus 4.3–4 (Moses' rod changes to serpent); Exodus 12.7 (Passover); Exodus 17.6 (water from the rock); 1v Kings 6.6–7 (Elisha's floating axe).

14 Commenting on Psalm 1:3, Honorius Augustodunensis, *De inventione sanctae crucis*, PL 172:943. The Latin text reads, "Hoc est lignum quod iuxta aquas transplantatur, quia sancta crux per omnia Scripturae fluentia praedicatur." On Honorius' life and works, see Valerie I.J. Flint, *Honorius Augustodunensis of Regensburg* (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1995).

magicians prefigured the flesh of Christ's death on the cross by which he overcame humanity's death. In fact, all of the miracles performed by Moses' staff symbolized the cross, God's regeneration of his people from death, original sin, and baptism. These miracles included the division of the Red Sea and bringing forth water from the rock in the desert. According to Honorius, the pole on which the spies carried the bunch of grapes from Canaan signified the holy cross because prophets and apostles carried the message of Christ crucified.¹⁵

Additionally, Honorius found prefigurations of the cross in the smearing of the Passover lamb's blood on the four parts of the door frames. He conflated this Passover ritual with the prophet Ezekiel's vision of a man in white linen marking the Hebrew letter *tau* on the foreheads of those who lamented the fall of Jerusalem. Moving from Babylon to Jerusalem in his vision, Ezekiel symbolized movement from the Synagogue to the Church. Similarly Christian priests marked the sign of the cross on the foreheads of penitents and those coming to the faith. The destroying angel in Ezekiel's vision foreshadowed demons that kill those who do not have the protection of the cross.¹⁶

In the mid-twelfth century Peter Lombard, the famous canon in Paris and author of the *Sentences*, used similar images in a Good Friday Sermon. Based on Christ's words as recorded in Gospel of John, Lombard explained Jesus' interpretation of the spiritual sense here. Moses lifted up the bronze serpent so that the Israelites bitten by the fiery serpents could look to it and be healed. Christ is the serpent who hangs on the tree with his divine and human natures. The bronze represents Christ's divinity. This reverses the wicked serpent's seduction of humanity.¹⁷ Peter explained how the cross was prefigured in Moses' staff that swallowed up the serpents of Pharaoh's magicians because of its divine power. Similarly, Christ swallowed up death through his crucifixion and resurrection, thereby destroying sin and justifying sinful humanity. In the same way that the staff of Moses brought down Egypt and overcame Pharaoh, the cross of Christ conquered the world, the devil, and evil powers.¹⁸

Later in the same sermon Lombard constructed an interpretation of the prophet Ezekiel's vision and the Passover similar to Honorius' exegesis. He

15 Honorius, *De inventione sanctae crucis*, PL 172:943–44. The scriptural references are Genesis 4.8 (Abel); Exodus 3.2 (burning bush); Exodus 7.9–12 (Moses' staff as serpent devours other snakes); Exodus 15.21 (division of Red Sea); Numbers 13.24 (spies carry grape on pole).

16 Honorius, *De inventione sanctae crucis*, PL 172:945. Exodus 12.7; Ezekiel 9.1–6 (vision of the *tau*).

17 Numbers 21.9 (bronze serpent); John 3.14.

18 Peter Lombard, *De laudibus sanctae crucis sermo unicus*, PL 171:686–87 (Falsely attributed to Hildebert). On Peter's life and works, see Philip W. Roseman, *Peter Lombard* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2004), pp. 34–53.

taught that the *tau* represented the sign of the cross that marks the foreheads of those who inwardly possess true faith which they display outwardly with good works. Lombard especially emphasized right intention and pure thoughts coupled with outward action. He plainly states that those who do not have the sign on body and soul perish eternally.¹⁹

In the twelfth century artists produced depictions of the typologies of the cross in different forms including processional crosses, altar crosses, portable altars, and stained glass.²⁰ For example, the Stavelot portable altar, which was constructed around 1165 in the Mosan area of Western Europe, combined images of the passion of Christ with Old Testament events that foreshadowed Christ's crucifixion. While the top and the bottom of this lid have images of Christ's Passion, the Last Supper, and the Resurrection, in the center there are six depictions of Old Testament events pointing toward Christ's Passion and Crucifixion. These images include Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, the sacrifice of Melchizedek, Abel's offering of a lamb, Cain, and Moses' lifting up of the bronze serpent. In the center we see Ecclesia, Synagoga, Samson with the gates of Gaza, and Jonah delivered up from the large fish.²¹

An altar cross, which also served as a reliquary of a piece of the True Cross, provides a second example. While it was most likely fully assembled in the fifteenth century, its images originate from the twelfth century. It contained a brass-cast corpus of Christ and an image of the Lamb of God in the center with four typological images on the four ends of the cross. The image on top depicts Jacob's blessing of Joseph's sons and the bottom shows Moses and the bronze serpent. To Christ's right, Aaron writes the sign of the *tau* on the gable of house as a symbol of the Passover. On Christ's left, the widow of Zarephath gives two pieces of wood to Elijah.²²

These typological images also appeared in stained glass throughout medieval churches. Abbot Suger included many examples in the stained glass at the Abbey of Saint-Denis in the twelfth century. One of the best preserved windows depicts five scenes from the life of Moses including the finding of Moses, the presentation of the Ten Commandments, the burning bush, crossing the Red

19 Lombard, *De laudibus sanctae crucis*, PL 171:694–95.

20 For examples see Baert, *Heritage of Holy Wood*, pp. 105, 112, 118, 161–62.

21 Suzanne Collon-Gevaert, Jean Lejeune, and Jacques Stiennon, *Treasury of Romanesque Art: Metabwork, Illuminations and Sculpture from the Valley of the Meuse* (New York: Phaidon, 1972), pp. 216–19; Genesis 14.18–19 (the sacrifice of Melchizedek).

22 Collon-Gevaert et al., *Treasury of Romanesque Art*, 230–31. This object is part of the collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. It can be viewed on the museum's website: <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O120840/altar-cross-unknown/> Accessed February 28, 2015.

Sea, and the bronze serpent. Abbot Suger understood the methods of biblical exegesis in twelfth-century Paris and intended these images to be interpreted at multiple levels. However, he also participated in the medieval monastic life through the liturgy, contemplation of sacred texts, and hearing (and preaching) sermons on these topics. For this reason, the text in the stained glass explained the correlation between Moses' bronze serpent and Christ's crucifixion. Additionally, the completed image included a dark, green depiction of Christ crucified above the bronze serpent.²³



FIGURE 6.1 Moses window, Abbey of Saint-Denis, Paris.

PHOTO COURTESY OF JANE VADNAL & ALISON STONES

23 On the Moses window (Fig. 6.1) as allegorical images, see Abbot Suger, *De rebus in administratione sua gestis* xxxiv, in *Abbot Suger: On the Abbey Church of St. Denis and Its Art Treasures*, ed. and trans. Erwin Panofsky, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University, 1979), pp. 74–77; Louis Grodecki, “Les vitraux allégoriques de Saint-Denis,” *Art de France* 1 (1961):

Baldwin of Forde, a Cistercian who had just become bishop of Worcester, wrote a sermon in praise of Christ's cross for the Augustinian canons of the Holy Cross at Waltham around 1180.²⁴ Similar to earlier preachers, Baldwin included an extensive section on the prefigurations of the cross contained in the Old Testament. He compared the power of Christ's cross to the staff of Moses and Aaron that changed into a serpent and swallowed up the Egyptian magicians' serpents. This demonstrated how Christ hid his power and wisdom under the weakness and foolishness of enduring a cross. Baldwin explained that the staff of Moses and Aaron brought about the plagues against the Egyptians. These miraculous events also typified the power and wisdom of Christ's cross against the sinful world and its evil rulers. Additionally, other miracles associated with the staff or wood, such as the dividing of the Red Sea and Moses' striking of a rock to bring forth water, pointed toward Christ's cross and its redemptive power in baptism, penance, and the transformation of the soul through divine love.²⁵

Later in the same sermon Baldwin also explained the significance of Ezekiel's vision and the Passover in relation to Christ's cross. He understood the man marking the repentant in Jerusalem with the Hebrew *tau* in Ezekiel's vision as Christ making the sign of the cross on true penitents' foreheads in the church. In relation to the Passover, the lamb's blood placed on the door posts and lintel of the Hebrews' homes symbolized Christ's placement of this mark on penitent believers. Baldwin exhorted his audience to mystically place the blood of Christ on their bodies and souls through the imitation of Christ's

19–46; on Moses' lifting of the bronze serpent. see pp. 37–38; and Louis Grodecki, "The Style of the Stained-Glass Windows of Saint-Denis," in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium*, ed. Paula Lieber Gerson (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), pp. 271–81; on Suger's theological influences, see Andreas Speer, "Is There a Theology of the Gothic Cathedral? A Re-reading of Abbot Suger's Writings on the Abbey Church of St-Denis," in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, pp. 74–75. I would like to thank Alison Stones and Jane Vadnal for allowing the use of a photograph of the stained glass of Moses' lifting up the bronze serpent at Saint-Denis.

24 On the origin of this sermon, see Jane Patricia Freeland and David N. Bell, "The Sermons on Obedience and the Cross," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 29 (1994): 271–74. In 1188, as archbishop of Canterbury, Baldwin preached the Third Crusade in Wales. He led a contingent of crusaders to Acre, where he died in 1190. On these events, see Penny J. Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 71–79; Peter W. Edbury, "Preaching the Crusade in Wales," in *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages*, eds. Alfred Haverkamp and Hanna Vollrath, (Oxford: Oxford University, 1996), pp. 221–33; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588*, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1988), pp. 157–60.

25 Baldwin of Forde, *Sermo de sancta cruce* 8.9–22, ed. David N. Bell, CCCM 99 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), pp. 129–33; Freeland and Bell, "Sermons on Obedience and the Cross," 279–83.

sufferings. The lintel signified the pious intention to bear this sign of life as the crucifixion of fleshly desires and vices.²⁶

From its inception crusade propagandists used typological interpretations of the Old Testament. For instance, in Baldric of Dol's version of Urban II's sermon, the pope refers to earthly Jerusalem as a type of the heavenly Jerusalem. According to Baldric, Urban stated that the ancient Israelites went out of Egypt, crossed the Red Sea, and drove out the Jebusites with Jesus (Joshua) as their leader and entered the physical Jerusalem. The pope asserted that this prefigured his hearers at Clermont and he identified the earthly Jerusalem as a type (*instar*) of the spiritual Jerusalem. He exhorted Christian knights to follow Jesus and drive out the Turks from Jerusalem, similar to the ancient Israelites.²⁷

Another chronicler of the First Crusade, Guibert of Nogent, referred to a traditional interpretation of the *tau* to describe those who persevered in their journey through external torments and bearing the cross inwardly. Guibert asserted that the number of men who fought with Gideon (300) related to the letter *tau*. He clearly connected the crusaders to this concept and applied a monastic exposition of a monastic exposition of Hebrews 13.11–13. Guibert described the crusaders as those who followed the Lord outside the metaphorical camp of fleshly desire and crucified their carnal vices.²⁸

While crusade chroniclers and propagandists used some forms of typology in their writings, the forms of typological exegesis associated with the sermons on the cross became prominent in the preaching for the Third Crusade in the late 1180s. After Pope Gregory VIII's call for the Third Crusade, Parisian moral reformers and their ecclesiastical associates emphasized intensely the nature of Christ's redemption and devotion to the cross in crusade preaching. This shift of focus toward the cross took place as a result of the Latin Christian army's loss of the relic of the True Cross to Saladin in 1187. While the Holy Sepulcher remained an important part of crusade propaganda, preachers began to

26 Baldwin, *Sermo de sancta cruce* 8.28–31, CCCM 99:134–35. Baldwin asserted the same interpretation of the Passover in *De sacramento altaris* 3.1.1, ed. Jean Leclercq, Sources chrétiennes 94 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1963), pp. 426–31.

27 Baldric of Dol, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, RHC Occ. 4 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1879), pp. 14–15. On the use of typology by chroniclers of the First Crusade, see Smith, "Glossing the Holy War," 1–39 and n. 9 above. On the significance of Jerusalem as an earthly and heavenly city, see Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 109–40.

28 Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos* *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM 127A. (Turnholt: Brepols, 1996), pp. 321–22; *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. Robert Levine (Rochester: Boydell, 1997), pp. 151–52. Cf. Peter Damian, *Sermo* 48.5, CCCM 57:295 and Thomas Wünsch, *Spiritualis intelligentia: Zur allegorischen Bibelinterpretation des Petrus Damiani* (Regensburg: S. Roderer, 1992), pp. 79–80.

focus more intently on the loss of the True Cross, devotion to the Holy Cross, and the imitation of the crucified Christ.²⁹

In a sermon originally preached in the fall of 1189 to inspire clerical support of and lay knights' participation in the Third Crusade, Alan of Lille specifically described the redemptive work of Christ and related it to the typological exegesis of Old Testament events. As an experienced Parisian theologian and orator, Alan addressed the central issues of the loss of the True Cross, true penance, and the doctrine of redemption.³⁰ At the beginning of the sermon Alan exhorted his hearers to praise the cross and glorify Christ as Savior. After explaining Christ's incarnation as the means to restore God's image to humanity through the remission of sins, he expressed how this applied to crusaders in the following manner:

For the purpose of displaying the glory of the cross we bear figure of the cross on the front of the body through the imprint, on the front of the mind through faith, as on the doorframes of the body and soul, which is signified in Exodus, where it was taught by the Lord to smear the blood of the Lamb on both the post and the doorframe.

Alan then explained how the penitent crusaders had received this sign already through baptism and confirmation. Thus, he moved from the allegory of the events to the tropological (moral) application for the penitent. As observed above, monastic and canonical preachers used similar typological exegesis in relation to the Passover, the sign of the cross, and the penitent soul. According to Alan, the Passover foreshadowed the sacramental marking of the cross upon the penitent crusader's body and soul.³¹

29 On Gregory's message and the loss of the True Cross, see Jean Richard, "1187, Point de départ pour une nouvelle forme la croisade," in *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (London: Variorum, 1992), pp. 254–55; Penny J. Cole, "Christian Perceptions of the Battle of Hattin (583/1187)," *Al-Masaq* 6 (1993): 19–21; Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 63–65; Penny J. Cole, "'O God, the Heathen Have Come Into Your Inheritance' (Ps. 78.1): The Theme of Religious Pollution in Crusade Documents, 1095–1188," in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 104–11; and Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1998), pp. 26–29. On the shift toward a more intentional focus on the cross of Christ, see Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2005), pp. 269–70; and Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Politics of Holy War: France and the Holy Land," in *The Book of Kings: Art, War, and the Morgan Library's Medieval Picture Bible*, eds. William Noel and Daniel Weiss (London: Third Millennium, 2002), p. 79.

30 On Alan's life and crusade preaching, see Phillips, "The Thief's Cross," 143–56.

31 Alan of Lille, *Sermo de cruce domini*, in *Alain de Lille, textes inédits*, ed. Marie Thérèse d'Alverny, *Études de Philosophie Médiévale* 52 (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1965), pp. 279–80. The Latin text reads, "Ad hanc crucis gloriam figurandam crucis figuram

Following this section, Alan explained the significance of the cross for the liturgy, the Mass, and personal devotion. It was this great mystery of the cross that drove out demons, saved sinful humanity, and annulled sin. Then Alan linked the themes of redemption with the typological exegesis of Old Testament events associated with the cross. He identified the cross as the staff of Moses that divided the Red Sea and brought forth water from the rock. Additionally, the wood that made bitter water sweet, the wood that held up the bronze serpent, and the pole on which the Jews carried a cluster of grapes all pointed toward the cross of Christ. In the next section of the sermon Alan described the relic of True Cross in a similar manner when he referred to Helena's discovery of the Cross and Heraclius' triumph with it.³² This connection to the Old Testament and to Christian history made the relic's loss even more tragic. Therefore, Alan exhorted Crusaders to make a pilgrimage to liberate the Holy Land, vindicate Christ's injuries, and recover the sacred relic of the True Cross. Alan connected rhetorically the various elements of the traditional devotion to the cross to the crusading venture. His sermon represents a new phenomenon among crusade propagandists in the late twelfth century of combining the typological exegesis in traditional sermons on the cross with exhortations in support of crusading.³³

The use of the typological exegesis connected to the cross did become an established part of Crusade preaching in the early thirteenth century with the pontificate of Innocent III. Numerous scholars have identified Innocent III's pontificate as a major turning point in the crusade movement. He adopted the monastic and Parisian reformers' emphasis on the devotion to the cross and the imitation of the crucified Christ. In his letters, prayers, and preaching Innocent certainly reflected the monastic and canonical tradition of preaching on the cross.³⁴

gestamus in fronte corporis per impressionem, in fronte mentis per fidem, quasi in superliminari tam corporis quam anime, quod significatum est in Exodo, ubi preceptum est a Domino sanguine agni liniri utrumque postem et supermilinare."

32 These events form the basis for the two festivals related to the relic of the True Cross.

33 Alan, *Sermo de cruce domini*, pp. 280–81. Cf. Alan, *De sancta cruce*, PL 210:223–24. Other propagandists for the Third Crusade emphasized the typological comparison between the Ark of the Covenant and the relic of the True Cross. For example, see Henry of Albano, *Tractus de peregrinante civitate Dei* 13, PL 204:353 and Peter of Blois, *Passio Reginaldi*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM 194 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), p. 34. I am writing another specific study on crusade preaching, the Ark of the Covenant, and devotion to the relic of the True Cross.

34 Helmut Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1969), pp. 268–91; Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 80–110; Tyerman, *Invention of the Crusades*, pp. 35–36; Christoph Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars*

Innocent's sermon on taking up the cross and following Christ used typological exegesis to proclaim the great mystery of the cross of the Lord. Innocent included many references to Old Testament symbols and events that foreshadowed the cross. First, he noted that Christ compared his own crucifixion to Moses' lifting up the serpent in the desert. Jacob's blessing of Joseph's sons with crossed hands pointed toward Christ. Innocent combined Ezekiel's vision of the mark of the *tau* on the foreheads of those weeping over Jerusalem with John's similar apocalyptic vision and the Hebrews' smearing of the lamb's blood on the doorposts as signs that foreshadowed the protection that faith in the cross of Christ granted. He also indicated that the wood that made the bitter waters sweet for the Hebrews and Elisha's miraculous raising of an axe from a river by means of a piece of wood also prefigured the cross of Christ.³⁵

At the height of his pontificate, Innocent gave the opening sermon at the Fourth Lateran Council in November 1215. The pope called the prelates to reform the church as the basis for a successful crusade. With a multifaceted exegesis of Jesus' desire to eat the Passover meal with his disciples, Innocent identified the crusade, church reform, and eternal life as physical, spiritual, and eternal Passovers, respectively. According to Innocent, the cross connected the physical crusade to the spiritual reform. Particularly he told the prelates to support Christendom's endeavor to regain the True Cross and the Holy Land.³⁶

Innocent used the traditional exegesis of Ezekiel's vision of the *tau* to explain the spiritual Passover. He interpreted the man dressed in linen marking the foreheads of those mourning over the abominations in Jerusalem as the

and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1994), pp. 2–3; Christoph Maier, "Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48 (1997): 633–41; Christoph Maier, "Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross: Innocent III and the Relocation of the Crusade," in *Pope Innocent III and his World*, pp. 351–60; John Gilchrist, "The Lord's War as the Proving Ground of Faith: Pope Innocent III and the Propagation of Violence (1198–1216)," in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, pp. 65–83.

35 Innocent III, *In communi de uno martyre. Sermo* 4 in PL 217:611. For the signs of the cross, he cited many of the scriptural passages we have seen above: Genesis 48.13–20; Exodus 12.7, 15.24–25; Numbers 21.9; IV Kings 6.6–7; Ezekiel 9.4–5; Revelation 7.2–3.

36 Innocent III, *In concilio generali Lateranensi habitus. Sermo* 6 in PL 217:673–76; translated in Corrine J. Vause and Frank C. Gardiner, *Pope Innocent III: Between God and Man* (Washington: Catholic University, 2004), pp. 55–58. On this sermon see Wilhelm Imkamp, "Sermo ultimus, quem fecit Dominus Innocentius papa tercius in Lateranensi concilio generali," *Römische Quartalschrift* 70 (1975): 149–79. On the eyewitness who stated that Innocent led the veneration of a relic of the True Cross at the closing ceremonies of the Fourth Lateran Council, see Stephan Kuttner and Antonio Garcia y Garcia, "A New Eyewitness Account of the Fourth Lateran Council," *Traditio* 20 (1964): 115–78. I would like to thank David Perry for the last reference.

preacher who places the mark of the cross on his hearers. According to Innocent, those who demonstrated the virtue of the cross through the crucifixion of the fleshly vices truly bore the cross on their foreheads. Innocent imagined himself as high priest traveling throughout the city to determine the truly penitent cross-bearers from the evildoers. Warning them against ecclesiastical corruption, he commissioned his fellow prelates to cut down those who rejected the sign of the cross with interdict, excommunication, and deposition. Thereby, Innocent believed western Christendom could be sufficiently cleansed to prepare the way for a crusade and the transformation of society through devotion to the cross and the imitation of the crucified Christ.³⁷

Innocent's adoption of the typological imagery of the cross set a powerful example for other thirteenth-century preachers. James of Vitry, a Parisian reformer, preached the Albigensian Crusade and participated in the Fifth Crusade as bishop of Acre and later became a cardinal-bishop. In a model sermon for crusade preaching he based the message on St. John's apocalyptic vision of an angel signing the servants of God on their foreheads.³⁸ James related this text to Ezekiel's vision. He identified Christ as the man dressed in a white garment who separated sinners and saints through the sign of the *tau*. He explained, "While the others were killed, those signed with the cross were freed." The message is clear: the angels spare those who lament over Jerusalem and take up the cross but remove both clergy and laity who do not.³⁹

In another model sermon for crusaders James used other more obscure typological references. Thus, he demonstrated that any Old Testament event could point toward Christ's cross. For example, he compared the cross of Christ to the scarlet string that saved Rahab from destruction at Jericho. James explained that, as hardened and obstinate sinners perish, the string of the cross draws others to Christ. He believed Christ's cross was also the sign that God commanded to be raised in Zion through faithful preaching of its mysterious

37 Innocent III, *Sermo* VI, PL 217:676–78; Vause and Gardiner, *Innocent III: Between God and Man*, pp. 59–62.

38 Revelations 7.2–3. On James of Vitry and crusade preaching, see Jean Longère, *Œuvres oratoires de Maîtres Parisiens au XIIe siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1975), pp. 418–20; James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1986), pp. 55–56; Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 132–141; Christoph Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2000), pp. 8–9; Brenda Bolton, "Serpent in the Dust: Sparrow on the Housetop," in *Holy Land, Holy Lands and Christian History*, ed. R.N. Swanson, *Studies in Church History* 36 (Oxford: Boydell, 2000), pp. 155–56. Throughout "Heresy, Crusade and Reform," Jessalynn Bird gives James a prominent position as a crusade preacher and reformer.

39 James of Vitry, *Sermo* I.6 in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 86–87.

power.⁴⁰ In the same sermon James compared Jacob's staff to the sign of the cross given in baptism. He observed that as Jacob crossed over the Jordan River, penitent crusaders would cross over the stream of mortal life. He also referred to the bearing of the Ark of the Covenant across the Jordan into Canaan as the church being carried on the wood of the cross from the world to heaven. James continued this typological exegesis related to the cross with three other examples. He stated that each penitent received the mark of the cross like each tenth animal passed under the shepherd's staff and was consecrated to the Lord. Additionally, crusaders with a contrite hearts will rise up from vice by the wood of the cross, just as axe rose from the Jordan River through Elisha's piece of wood. Lastly, James identified the cross as Jacob's ladder by which Christ pulls up sinners.⁴¹

The author of the anonymous sermon, *Brevis ordinacio de predicacione crucis*, demonstrates how another preacher in the early thirteenth century incorporated the typological exegesis of the cross into crusade preaching. This text included an exposition of humanity's fall into sin and Christ's redemptive act as the incarnate God-man on the cross. Then, the sermon presented an allegorical interpretation of the story of Elisha's miracle of the floating axe. It compares Christ to Elisha who used a piece of wood to bring the iron of the axe out of the Jordan River. The iron signified the cold, hard-heartedness of sins. Therefore, just as the iron rose from the bottom of the riverbed to the wood at the top, a sinner may rise from evil living to the cross and to Christ because the cross is the ladder of sinners. Here the preacher incorporated typological exegesis associated with Christ's cross to exhort others to take the penitential Crusader's cross.⁴²

An exhortation later in the *Brevis ordinacio* contained a reference to Joshua's shield as foreshadowing Christ's cross and the crusader's cross. According

40 James, *Sermo* II.5–7 in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 102–03; Joshua 2.18–21 (Rahab's string). He also refers to Jeremiah 4.6 and Isaiah 49.22.

41 James, *Sermo* II.11–12 in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 106–09. He refers to Jacob's crossing at Genesis 32.10 and the Ark's crossing at Joshua 3.1–17. The relevant biblical passages are Leviticus 27.32, IV Kings 6.6–7, and Genesis 28.12–13.

42 *Brevis ordinacio de predicacione sancte crucis*, in *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores*, ed. Reinhold Röhricht (Geneva: J-G. Fick, 1879), pp. 6–8. Although it does not refer to Adam, this text refers to Adam of Saint-Victor's *Laudes crucis attollamus* in *Adam of Saint-Victor Sequences*, pp. 112–13, where Adam identified the cross as “the ladder of sinner through which Christ, the king of heavens, draws all to himself.” On the *Brevis ordinacio* and its relationship to the Parisian reformers, see Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 117–26; Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade*, pp. 51–55, 59–60, 117–21; Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, p. 114; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 163–66; and Bird, “Heresy, Crusade and Reform,” pp. 6–7.

to the biblical text, God instructed Joshua to lift up his shield toward the city of Ai and attack it. The preacher compared the shield's four angles to the virtues of the cross. While the text identified the highest angle as the faith by which believers reach to God, it stated that the lowest angle symbolized the fear of the Lord. The other two angles corresponded to abstinence against prosperity and patience in tribulation respectively. Finally, as the Lord commanded Joshua to lift his shield against the king of Ai, the crusade preacher called for his hearers to hold up this cross through his actions. In this manner, the crusade preacher combined the allegorical and tropological applications of the texts with an exhortation to take up the penitential cross and follow Christ.⁴³

Eudes of Chateauroux, a younger contemporary of James of Vitry, preached the Albigensian Crusade, later organized Louis IX's first crusade, and then went on the crusade as a papal legate. After he returned from the Middle East, Eudes served at the papal court in Rome and remained active as a preacher and writer.⁴⁴ He also completed a work on the *tau* and St. John's vision of an apocalyptic angel as a model crusade sermon. Similar to Innocent and James of Vitry, Eudes related the smearing of blood on the doorframes in the Passover and Ezekiel's sign of the *tau* with taking up the crusader's cross. The power of the cross protects the faithful penitent from demons as the lamb's blood on the doorposts. He concluded his point with a clear statement:

This is why we have come here, sent by the pope, so that the servants of God may be signed by the taking of the cross and distinguished from the servants of the devil and they may receive God's payment and may not be killed by the sword of eternal pain, Ezekiel 9: *Do not kill anyone on whom you see the thau* [*sic*]⁴⁵

Gilbert of Tournai followed in the tradition of James of Vitry and Eudes as a Parisian master and crusade preacher. He eventually joined the Franciscan Order, preached Louis IX's first crusade, and wrote extensively on theological and devotional matters.⁴⁶ Gilbert based a crusade sermon on St. John's apocalyptic

43 *Brevis ordinacio*, pp. 23–24; Joshua 8.18–19. In the early fourteenth century Bertrand de la Tour used a similar interpretation of this text. Bertrand de la Tour, *Sermo* 111 in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 242–47.

44 On Eudes see Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 9–10; and Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 177–85.

45 Eudes, *Sermo* V.10–11 in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 172–73. Italics are in Maier's original translation.

46 On Gilbert's life and crusade preaching see Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 194–201; Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 10–11. For a more complete discussion of Gilbert's life

vision of an angel carrying the sign of God. He stated that Christ was God's first messenger (*angelus*) who carried this sign as reminder of his suffering. Gilbert then referred to Moses' bronze serpent as a figure of the cross. He encouraged contrite penitents to look toward him through meditation on the cross as the Hebrews had looked to the bronze serpent. Later in the same sermon Gilbert used Ezekiel's vision of *tau* and the Passover to exhort others to lament over the fall of Jerusalem. Lastly, he compared the cross to Rahab's scarlet string to the cross by which Christ led truly penitent crusaders past purgatory and hell and to heaven.⁴⁷

These texts and images demonstrate how crusade preachers mirrored the theological developments of the twelfth century related to devotion to the Christ's cross, by appropriating the exegetical methods of medieval monks and theologians. Historical events in the Old Testament pointed toward a greater reality than themselves. This typological interpretation revealed God's plan of redemption through Christ in history. While ancient historical events were fulfilled in Christ's crucifixion, penitents (either monks or crusaders) completed these historical events in a tropological (moral) sense by taking up their crosses and following Christ. In this manner, they exemplified Hugh's three methods of interpretations: history, allegory, and tropology. Similar to the way in which Adam of Saint-Victor's *Sequences* formed a liturgical bridge from the Old Testament and Epistle readings to Gospel readings, the typology of the cross linked God's redemptive actions in history fulfilled in the crucifixion with the crusading venture.

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and work, see Marjorie Burghart, "Remploi textuel, invention et art de la mémoire: les Sermones ad status du franciscain Guibert de Tournai (†1284)" (PhD diss., Université de Lyon, 2013), pp. 11–74.

47 Gilbert of Tournai, *Sermo* I.1–5, 10, 13, 19–20 in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*, pp. 176–83, 186–89.

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Missing the Apocalypse in Preaching the Crusades

Charles W. Connell

Among the reports of the speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont in 1095 calling for the implementation of an armed pilgrimage to Jerusalem, that of Guibert of Nogent (c. 1055–1124) gave special attention to the need for Christian warriors to establish Christian kings in the East in order to fulfill the prophecy that foretold their destruction as the Antichrist occupied the Holy Land.¹ In Guibert's account the prophecy indicates that:

...it is clear that Antichrist is to do battle not with the Jews, not with the Gentiles, but, according to the etymology of his name, he will attack Christians ... And according to the same prophet, he will first kill three kings of Egypt, Africa, and Ethiopia, without doubt for their Christian faith. This could not be done unless Christianity was established where now is paganism.²

As Penny Cole noted in her study of the preaching of the crusades, the various chroniclers of the First Crusade attempted to establish a broader context for

- 1 Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, *RHC. OCC.* 4:117–263, here 138H to 139C. For an overview on the role of the Antichrist in Christian history, see Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (New York, 2000). On the apocalyptic tradition in the Middle Ages, idem, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1998); Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, eds., *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 1992); Brett Edward Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 2009). For a collection of studies arguing for an intense apocalyptic interest around the year 1000, see Richard Landes, Andrew Gow, and David C. Van Meter, eds., *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectations and Social Change, 950–1050* (Oxford, 2003). For an opposing point of view, see Sylvain Gouguenheim, *Les fausses terreurs de l'an mil et la paix de Dieu: Attente de la fin des temps ou approfondissement de la foi?* (Paris, 1999); Jean Flori, *La guerre sainte: La formation de l'idée de croisade dans l'Occident chrétien* (Paris, 2001), 62–63; and, Flori, *La fin du monde au Moyen Age: terreur ou esperance?* (Paris, 2008).
- 2 Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, trans. August C. Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants* (Princeton, NJ, 1921), 42–43. Guibert based his account on the only apocalyptic text of the Old Testament in the Book of Daniel. The parallel with Daniel in the New Testament is the Book of Revelations (or Apocalypse) of John.

Urban's sermon and "undertook to endow it with the dignity and high-minded qualities appropriate to the movement it inspired."³ But Guibert was the only one to place Urban's words in the apocalyptic mode.⁴

Modern scholars are not in agreement as to the impact of eschatological prophecy on the crusades. Benjamin Kedar, in his study of the historiography of the massacre of the non-Christian inhabitants as the crusaders entered Jerusalem in 1099, pointed out that modern scholars have focused on trying to discern the "totality" of its impact. In so doing they have noted that Raymond of St Gilles, as he entered, is credited with the statement that the crusaders in Solomon's Temple rode in blood "usque ad frenos equorum" which is based on Apocalypse 14:20, but not so directly quoted at the time by Raymond.⁵ In 2009 Robert Chazan was among the more recent to note the ongoing debate over various aspects of millenarian expectations of the era and their impact on the crusade.⁶ In 2004, Al Andrea mentioned the speech of Urban as reported by Guibert, but focused on the attention that Pope Innocent III gave to the apocalypse in his calling of crusades to the Holy Land. After the failure of the Fourth Crusade to reach Jerusalem, Innocent referenced the Apocalypse of John in *Quia maior* as he called for the Fifth.⁷ Despite the absence of any actual direct recording of Urban's speech calling for the First Crusade, Jay Rubenstein has suggested that Guibert believed that Urban would have mentioned the apocalypse and so reported his speech in that manner.⁸ Thus, since 1995, when Christoph Maier provided a brief overview of the various ways in which apocalyptic prophecies may have influenced crusade propaganda over time, uncertainty remains.⁹

3 Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA 1991), 32.

4 Dana C. Munro, "The Speech of Urban II at Clermont, 1095," *American Historical Review* 11 (1906): 240–241, was the first modern crusade historian to point this out. More recently, Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 53, notes the reference to Daniel in Baudri of Dol's account of the speech.

5 Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades," *Crusades* 3 (2004): 65.

6 Robert Chazan, "'Let Not a Remnant or a Residue Escape': Millenarian Enthusiasm in the First Crusade," *Speculum* 84 (2009): 289–313.

7 Alfred J. Andrea, "Innocent III, the Fourth Crusade, and the Coming Apocalypse," *The Medieval Crusade*, ed. Susan J. Ridyard (Woodbridge, UK, 2004), 97–106.

8 Jay Rubenstein, "How, or How Much, to Reevaluate Peter the Hermit," *The Medieval Crusade*, ed. Susan J. Ridyard (Woodbridge, UK, 2004), 53–71.

9 Christoph T. Maier, "Crusade and Rhetoric against the Muslim Colony of Lucera," *Journal of Medieval History* 21 (1995): 343–385.

Most recently, Norman Housley in *Contesting the Crusades* noted that although the popularist view of crusading places much emphasis on the eschatological context for the First Crusade, in fact, "Apocalypticism, in particular the expectation of an imminent Second Coming (*parousia*), is only patchily documented."¹⁰ André Vauchez also argued that the eschatological tradition was not so influential in the eleventh century prior to the First Crusade despite the attention given to the apocalyptic in the time of Radulphus Glaber (985–1047) when the attempt to interpret any aberrant phenomenon as the End of Time was more prominent.¹¹ Johannes Friel, Richard Landes, and a number of other scholars have strongly advocated the view that the evidence for widespread apocalyptic concerns can be found in many forms despite the relative silence of the written sources.¹² Brett Whalen's study of the apocalyptic influence upon late medieval Christendom raises the question of whether apocalyptic expectations fueled "popular eagerness for the First Crusade among the poor and the marginal" in medieval society.¹³

In the light of ongoing scholarly attention and disagreement regarding apocalyptic expectations in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and the complex nature of the prophecy and the role of Antichrist within it, a number of issues regarding the influence of those expectations on the crusades to the Holy Land call for further attention. This appears particularly relevant in the thirteenth century when the mission to recapture Jerusalem was compromised

¹⁰ Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford, 2004), 11.

¹¹ André Vauchez, "Les composantes eschatologiques de l'idée de croisade," *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade: Actes du Colloque universitaire international de Clermont-Ferrand, 23–25 juin 1995* (Rome, 1997), 233–243. Cf. Richard Landes, "Radulphus Glaber and the Dawn of the New Millennium: Eschatology, Historiography and the Year 1000," *Revue Mabillon* 7 (1996): 137–211. See also Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst, and Andres Welkenhuysen, eds., *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages* (Leuven, 1988).

¹² Landes, Gow, and Van Meter, eds., *The Apocalyptic Year 1000* (Oxford, 2003).

¹³ Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 55. For earlier studies on the role played by eschatological expectations, see the pace-setting work of Paul Alphandéry, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade*, ed. Alphonse Dupront, 2 vols. (Paris, 1954–1959; reprinted in one vol., 1995). Also, Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, rev. ed. (New York, 1961), 61–70; Rubenstein, "How or How Much," 53–59; Bernard McGinn, "Iter sancti Sepulchri: The Piety of the First Crusaders," in *Essays on Medieval Civilization*, ed. Bede Lackner and Kenneth Philip, The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures, 12 (Austin, TX, 1978), 33–71. For a broader overview on apocalyptic ideas and the crusades, see Flori, *La guerre sainte*; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986); James Powell, "Myth, Legend, Propaganda and History: The First Crusade, 1140–ca. 1300," in *Autour de la première croisade: Actes du colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris, 1996), 127–141; Henri Bresc, "Les historiens de la croisade: guerre sainte, justice et paix," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen Age* 115 (2003): 727–753.

so often by alternative expeditions to areas of Europe or by failed expeditions to Jerusalem itself.¹⁴

This essay will re-examine briefly the role apocalyptic prophecies might have played in the success of recruitment for the First Crusade, as well as the decline of the crusade to Jerusalem in the thirteenth century. The focus here will be on three aspects. First, if apocalyptic expectations were running so high, why was Guibert of Nogent the only one to suggest that Urban preached in those terms, and if he did so speak, was that theme echoed in Urban's crusade-preaching tour of France, or elsewhere among other preachers of the crusade? Second, what influence did the apocalyptic prophecies have on the thinking of other popes and/or preachers of subsequent crusades into the thirteenth century? And third, how might the apocalyptic message have influenced the decline of the effectiveness of crusade preaching to raise subsequent expeditions to the Holy Land?

Rubenstein has recently suggested that we should consider the First Crusade as an apocalypse itself, and alleges that: "When preachers wanted to motivate soldiers, or when historians wanted to understand what the crusade was all about, the language they used was apocalyptic."¹⁵ However, it appears that the evidence is not so definitive on this point. Although one can cite Peter the Hermit (ca. 1050–1115) as a preacher perhaps motivating potential crusaders with apocalyptic rhetoric, and Guibert of Nogent as a chronicler using the apocalypse as the basis for his recreation of the sermon of Urban II in 1095, both this evidence and the modern conclusions drawn from it are murky.

Historians still debate whether Peter the Hermit might have been more responsible than Urban for the First Crusade.¹⁶ Around 1130, a contemporary of Peter, Albert of Aachen (Aix), in his version of the First Crusade entitled *Historia Hierosolymitanae expeditionis* (*History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*),¹⁷

14 See, for example, the more recent discussion of distractions from the crusade to Jerusalem in the thirteenth century by Martin Hall, "An Academic Call to Arms in 1252: John of Garland's Crusading Epic *De triumphis Ecclesiae*," *Crusades* 12 (2013), 153–174. Also, see Maier, "Crusade and Rhetoric."

15 Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for the Apocalypse* (New York, 2011), 123, 319. See also John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002).

16 Rubenstein, "How or How Much;" Thomas Asbridge, *The First Crusade: a New History* (Oxford, 2004), 78–82; E.O. Blake and Colin Morris, "A Hermit Goes to War: Peter and the Origins of the First Crusade," *Studies in Church History* 22 (1985): 79–107; Jean Flori, "Faut-il réhabiliter Pierre l'Ermite? (une réévaluation des sources de la Première Croisade)," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 38 (1995): 35–54.

17 An English translation with notes is now available: *Albert of Aachen's History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, trans. Susan B. Edgington, Crusade Texts in Translation Series, 2 vols. (Farnham, UK, 2013). For his use of legendary content Albert has been controversial as

which relied heavily upon the memories of veterans who had survived, offered the view that Peter was responsible for the crusade as a result of his charismatic preaching in response to his own suffering at the hands of the Muslims while on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.¹⁸ There is also the story in the Rosenfeld Annals that Peter carried a sealed letter from the patriarch of Jerusalem which acted as a validating “talisman,” but that it was later transformed into a “charter fallen from heaven.”¹⁹ So-called “letters from Heaven” were not uncommon in this era and have been loosely linked to the origin of the crusades.²⁰ Indirect evidence, such as the pogrom of the Jews along the Rhineland in the wake of the preaching of the First Crusade, has been cited to suggest that sermons included an apocalyptic message that was interpreted as the need to eliminate the Jews.²¹ An alternative analysis suggests that this anti-Jewish violence should be seen in a much broader historical context related to “forced conversion” and not to traditional apocalypticism.²² Tyerman has more recently remarked that we only have hints of any apocalyptic basis for Peter’s appeal, not any actual records of his sermons.²³ Even Rubenstein, who accepts the notion of an apocalyptic tenor in the preaching of Peter, admits that “the nuances of Peter’s message are lost.”²⁴ Thus, the evidence is insufficient to conclude that Peter used the Apocalypse to persuade anyone to take the cross.

Turning to the content of the speech of Urban II at Clermont in 1095 we have reports by several contemporary chroniclers, but no actual recordings of

a source, but is now generally accepted as valuable and reliable. See Susan B. Edgington, “Albert of Aachen Reappraised,” *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095–1500*, ed. Alan V. Murray (Turnhout, 1998), 55–67; and, idem, “The First Crusade: Reviewing the Evidence,” *The First Crusade: Origin and Impact*, ed. Jonathan P. Phillips (Manchester, 1997), 55–77.

18 Norman Housley, *Fighting for the Cross: Crusading to the Holy Land* (New Haven, CT, 2008), 285; also see, Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 55–56.

19 Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, 13; Blake and Morris, “A Hermit Goes to War,” 93–94.

20 See, for example, Alphandéry, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade*, 54–55.

21 Chazan, “Let Not a Remnant or a Residue Escape.” See also Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, 14, and 258 n. 59, on further details of the Rhineland reaction to the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher by al-Hakim and how that was connected to attacks on the Jews; Matthew Gabriele, “Against the Enemies of Christ: The Role of Count Emicho in the Anti-Jewish Violence of the First Crusade,” *Christian Attitudes toward the Jews in the Middle Ages: a Casebook*, ed. Michael Frassetto (New York, 2007), who argues that eschatology did play a role.

22 Kenneth Stow, “Conversion, Apostasy, and Apprehensiveness: Emicho of Flonheim and the Fear of the Jews in the Twelfth Century,” *Speculum* 76 (2001): 911–933.

23 Christopher Tyerman, *God’s War: A New History of the Crusades* (London, 2006), 78–80.

24 Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, 14. Related to this is the scarcity of reference to the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher in Western literature, see John France, “The Destruction of Jerusalem and the First Crusade,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 (1996): 1–17.

the speech at the time it was given. In trying to recapture its content, only the *Gesta Dei per Francos* (The Deeds of God through the Franks) of Guibert of Nogent makes any clear reference to any apocalyptic prophecy. Guibert was not present at Clermont, and did not write his version of the speech until around 1108, well after the event.²⁵ Guibert's intimation of an apocalyptic framework to promote the crusade is not consistent with what we otherwise know about Urban. For example, only three of his letters briefly reference Daniel 2:21 with respect to the notion that the *populus Christianus* is rejoicing that God was "changing the time and transforming the kingdom."²⁶ The reports of Urban's subsequent personal preaching of the crusade in early 1096 do not refer to any apocalyptic message. What we are able to glean indicates a content that was more consistent with other versions of his Clermont speech by Baldric of Dol, Fulcher of Chartres, Robert the Monk, and the anonymous *Gesta francorum*, all of which emphasize the somewhat common themes of "penance, pilgrimage, cross, [and] war."²⁷

During the winter and spring of 1095–1096 Urban struck out on his own personal preaching tour, reaching as far north as Le Mans in delivering his plea.²⁸ In the effort to launch the crusade by the summer of 1096, others were commissioned by the pope to preach. Some were not, such as Peter the Hermit and his delegate along the Rhine, the local priest Gottschalk, but they also reached out and yielded large numbers of recruits to the crusading army led by Peter himself.²⁹ It is likely that the trained clergy delivered most of the sermons outside the circuit of the pope, but we know little about who actually preached, and we have no record of the sermons of Urban or any of the others. Thus, we do not know what role the text of Urban's Clermont speech may have played in any part of this process.³⁰ Comments in monastic charters only indicate that Urban encouraged the people in the Loire valley "to go to Jerusalem to drive out the heathen."³¹

25 There is some confusion as to whether Guibert was at Clermont. I follow Cole's view that he was not present. See Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 9. More recently, Schein accepts the notion that he did attend: Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Aldershot, UK, 2005), 14.

26 Matthew Gabriele, "The Last Carolingian Exegete: Pope Urban II, the Weight of Tradition, and Christian Reconquest," *Church History* 81 (2012): 796–814.

27 Tyerman, *God's War*, 32, 79. For an analysis of the character and tone of each of these four accounts, see Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 9–19; regarding Peter's message on apostolic poverty as central to his preaching, see Cole, 34.

28 Tyerman, *God's War*, 32.

29 Ibid., 80.

30 Asbridge, *The First Crusade*, 46–49.

31 Tyerman, *God's War*, 68.

In delineating the broader context for Urban's message at Clermont and his personal preaching mission, Whalen has maintained that before the council the pope was developing a theory regarding the liberation of Christian churches that, "celebrated recent Christian conquests [in Spain] as part of a divine plan."³² This interpretation is based on letters that Urban sent to various rulers and ecclesiastical representatives in Spain and Sicily, but the texts are not clearly apocalyptic in nature. More evident is the fact that in the 1030s and 1060s large groups of pilgrims had trekked from all over Europe to Jerusalem, and that "Jerusalem played a prominent part in the genre of eschatological literature popular in western monasteries, cathedrals and courts from at least the mid-tenth century."³³ Recent historians have better established that there was a recurring apocalyptic anxiety, especially in the first half of the century leading up to the First Crusade. Yet, what we are able to discern about the preaching of the First Crusade suggests that despite the broader climate of opinion, there is no clear evidence that apocalyptic prophecy was central to it.

So why did Guibert feature the apocalyptic in his recreation of Urban's speech? Let us come back to Penny Cole's suggestion that all of the later renditions attempted to place it into the broader context of the crusade and to justify it as part of God's plan. When we see the apparently re-intensified interest in the apocalypse among early twelfth century writers such as Rupert of Deutz (1075–1129) and Honorius Augustodunensis (d. 1135) who were, in the words of Whalen, attempting to "push beyond this normative theology of history,"³⁴ we can imagine a clerical mode of apocalyptic thinking that would be familiar and persuasive to Guibert. He well could have decided to place Urban's message into this broader, and to Guibert, more appropriate context, even if none of the other chroniclers did so. Perhaps it was his thought, looking forward, to create a framework for the ongoing settlement and maintenance of Jerusalem. For Guibert, the purpose of preaching was "cure of the inner man." Therefore, being aware of man's inclination to evil, it could be dangerous to depart from doctrine in delivering the message. As Cole has pointed out, Guibert understood that the preacher must walk a thin line in order to hold out the

32 Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 49. One of the three letters by Urban that cites Daniel was to the Bishop Berengar of Vic celebrating the newly restored diocese of Terragona (Gabriele, "Last Carolingian Exegete," 804).

33 Tyerman, *God's War*, 69; Housley, *Fighting for the Cross*, 197–200. Also see, for example, Einar Joranson, "The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064–1065," in *The Crusade and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro by His Former Students*, ed. Louis J. Paetow (Freeport, NY, 1968), 3–43. In general, regarding the increasing attention to Jerusalem by Europeans in the crusade era, see Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, *passim*.

34 Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 79–83. See also Housley, *Fighting for the Cross*, 197–200.

joys of salvation to the audience on the one hand, while also “prodding them from behind with the terrors of future punishments.”³⁵ The message of the Apocalypse could fit such a paradigm.

Furthermore, Guibert was aware of the dangers of boredom in listening to sermons. Even though he was cynical regarding charismatic preachers like Peter the Hermit, he knew that effective preachers must tailor their sermons to fit the audience as well as the goals of the sermon. All sermons are filled with a spiritual purpose; it is the job of the preacher to awaken the audience and to exhort them to a spiritual battle. Thus, he could have deemed Urban’s speech as something to be emulated in order to motivate crusades in the future. The inherent drama of the apocalypse would again meet Guibert’s goals in shaping the call to crusade by Urban. Guibert personally viewed Saracens in an apocalyptic mode as the scourge sent by God against sinful Christians, and thus he celebrated the 1099 Christian victory in the Holy Land. This also seems consistent with what we otherwise know about the analytical and philosophical mind of Guibert.³⁶ Aware of his purpose to instruct and provide a model for future preachers of crusade, a need that was rapidly becoming more transparent in the early twelfth century, Guibert inserted apocalyptic content into his reconstruction of Urban’s message. Since he knew the successful outcome of Urban’s preaching in raising the army for the First Crusade, by framing his version of this initial call to crusade in the context of the resurging interest in the apocalyptic, Guibert could hope to provide a more powerful model for future preachers of crusades. However, Guibert’s account of the sermon was not popular or widely circulated in his own time, so its eschatology was less likely to have been influential.³⁷

Similar to Guibert’s possible use of the Apocalypse in establishing a context for the ongoing maintenance of the Christian kingdom in the Holy Land following the First Crusade, one might interpret the justification of the Jerusalem massacre in apocalyptic terms. Raymond of St Gilles’s reference to the blood running deep based on Apocalypse 14:20 suggests the Apocalypse was much on the minds of those who fought as well as those who wrote about it. But this is difficult to prove because the text is not actually cited. Raymond’s comment might have been based on it, but, as Kedar cautions, “is it not more likely that blood puddles in the Mosque al-Aqsa were indeed ankle-high at some points and that the ecstatic Raymond—and only he—chose to lend grandeur to the scene by using the words of the Apocalypse?”³⁸ The Apocalypse may have

35 Cole, *Preaching the Crusade*, 21.

36 Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York, 2002).

37 Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 136.

38 Kedar, “The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099,” 65.

rightly come to mind of this more thoughtful individual in light of the specter of the massacre in 1099, but it does not validate any claim that the Apocalypse was a motivating factor for crusading for the masses from the beginning of the journey to the Holy Land. Rather than fulfillment of any apocalyptic prophecy, the more likely incentive was the prospect of individual salvation.

The evidence for the influence of the apocalyptic on the calling of the First Crusade is as elusive of conclusive interpretation as much of the evidence for its goals and popularity have proven to historians over the years. Modern scholarship has provided greater insight as to the popular widespread enthusiasm and concern over the possible End of Time in the late tenth and early eleventh century than for the last two decades of the eleventh. Despite the uneventful passing of the millennial years 1000 and 1033 associated with the apocalyptic exegesis and millennial expectations, it is clear enough that concern had not totally evaporated—the rapid reinvigoration of the apocalyptic dialogue in the early twelfth century, for example, seems to support this. Yet, we remain frustrated by the lack of texts that clearly document whether any of the preachers of the First Crusade used the apocalypse as the central theme for rallying a crusading army. Guibert put it into the core of his recreation of Urban's speech at Clermont, but curiously none of the other reports of that speech do so.³⁹ If the apocalypse was so prominent in the era, and Urban did actually use it in his call to the crusade as Guibert apparently thought he “must have,” and, given the fact that at least three of the other chroniclers were at Clermont, is it not strange that none of these other accounts of the speech feature it?

The debate over what might have motivated the crusaders has ranged from material to spiritual to some complex combination,⁴⁰ but not on apocalyptic prophecy. Riley-Smith, who accepts that millenarianism was being discussed and Antichrist was being loosely associated with the Muslims, still concludes that “the evidence is not copious enough for us to suppose that eschatological ideas were widespread.”⁴¹

39 On this point, see Munro, “The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont,” 242.

40 Modern scholarship on the origin and motivation centers upon the groundbreaking work of Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton, NJ, 1977), who elaborated on the line of thinking first expressed by Alphandéry in the 1950s; see also, Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 31–57; Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1988), 8–37; Marcus Bull, “Origins,” *The Oxford History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford, 1999), 15–34. On the balance of material and spiritual, see Tyerman, *God's War*, 84–89.

41 Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 35.

1 Influence of Apocalyptic Prophecy on Twelfth-Century Preachers and Popes

Following the loss of Christian-controlled Edessa in 1144, Pope Eugenius III (r. 1145–1153) issued *Quantum praedecessores* in December 1145 calling for the launching of a new crusade to the Holy Land. Although the pope reportedly drew heavily upon the speech of Urban, there is no apocalyptic tone in the content, suggesting that he did not rely upon Guibert's account. There was little immediate response and so Eugenius reissued the bull in March 1146 and charged his mentor Bernard of Clairvaux (ca. 1090–1153) "to preach and to move the hearts of everyone" to attract a new crusading force.⁴² Bernard had a history of using Antichrist rhetoric in his debates against the Antipope Anacletus II and Peter Abelard, so we might expect to find apocalyptic overtones in his crusade sermons.⁴³ There is no record of what core message Bernard preached,⁴⁴ but we may gain some approximation from the language found in his open letter *Ad peregrinantes Jerusalem* (1146) to Duke Wladislaus of Bohemia. Reportedly read aloud in Prague cathedral and widely circulated thereafter, Bernard's call to arms was framed as an action to defend Christ and His Holy Land in which Christians now had a unique opportunity for their own salvation because of the indulgence offered to crusaders.⁴⁵ By May of 1146 as a charismatic preacher Bernard claimed success in persuading many to take the cross, but there is no indication of any role for the Apocalypse in his message.

Even though Bernard may have privately turned to apocalyptic texts for solace following the failure of the Second Crusade,⁴⁶ his later attempt to rationalize it made no mention of God's apocalyptic plan or the Antichrist. Instead, Bernard cited immorality of the crusaders as the reason for its failure.⁴⁷

42 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 40–43, 46–49; quote at 41.

43 McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 109.

44 Tyerman, *God's War*, 88–91, regarding Bernard's opening speech at Vézelay in 1146.

45 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 49. Cole used the edition of Jean Leclercq, "L'encyclique de Saint Bernard en faveur de la croisade," *Revue Bénédictine* 81 (1971): 295–300. Also, see Schein, *Gateway*, 77–78.

46 Bernard McGinn, "St Bernard and Eschatology," *Bernard of Clairvaux: Studies Presented to Dom Jean Leclercq* (Washington, D.C., 1973), 161–185. Many of the more fully developed eschatologists of the twelfth century such as Honorius Augustodunensis, Otto of Freising, and Hildegard of Bingen focused on apocalyptic exegesis in more abstract terms and not on its application to the war against the Saracen *per se*. See Robert Lerner, "Refreshment of the Saints: the Time after Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought," *Traditio* 32 (1976): 97–144.

47 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 58–59. H.D. Kahl, "Crusade Eschatology as Seen by St. Bernard in the Years 1146 to 1148," in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians* (New York, 1992), 35–41, suggests that Bernard's preaching may have had apocalyptic overtones, but Peter Raedts, "St Bernard and Jerusalem," in *Prophecy and Eschatology*, ed. Michael Wilks

Interestingly, critics of crusading such as the anonymous annalist of Würzburg accused crusade preachers of being “pseudo-prophets ... witnesses of Antichrist ... set forth to deceive Christians with their empty words” in order to get them to march against the Saracens.⁴⁸

Although not a prominent public preacher like Bernard, as abbot of Cluny Peter the Venerable (c. 1092–1156) had access to a wide network of influence and took up the cause of a new crusade. In a sermon entitled *De laude Domini Sepulchri* Peter discussed the spiritual values of crusading wherein his focus is on the importance of Jerusalem and Christ’s tomb to Christians.⁴⁹ Cole points out that Peter’s sermon is similar to that of Urban II at Clermont,⁵⁰ but there is no direct mention of Antichrist, which brings up two points for discussion. First, if Peter had access to any version of Urban’s speech, which one(s) did he view? Second, if a revived apocalypticism was as prominent in the early twelfth century as suggested above, and if he considered the version of Guibert, why did Peter not cast the Christian setback and his advocacy for a crusade within the apocalyptic tradition? Peter had already exhibited strong anti-Jewish and anti-Saracen feelings with apocalyptic overtones,⁵¹ but these do not arise in this sermon. Instead, the text focuses on the crusade as a personal act of redemption, that is, *imitatio Christi* to achieve personal salvation.

In considering crusade sermons of the twelfth century, caution must be exercised in trying to measure the apocalyptic influence because once again we have little content of the sermons to examine. This silence with respect to Bernard at least is likely due to the failure of the Second Crusade and the attempt to maintain a more positive view of Bernard’s reputation.⁵² Papal shame also caused resistance to the calling of any new crusade post-1147. Whereas before people had believed the crusade to be divinely inspired, doubt of God’s support now set in.⁵³ As Cole keenly observed, criticism of crusading reveals “insurmountable tensions which existed between the lofty religious idealism contained in sermons for the crusade and certain realities involved in

(Oxford, 1994), 169–182, here 181, rejects this view, because Kahl assumes that crusading in general was apocalyptic in nature and Raedts does not.

48 *Annales Herbilpolenses*, p. 3, as quoted in Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 54.

49 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 49–52.

50 Ibid., 50. On the importance of the Holy Sepulcher in the time of the First Crusade, see Schein, *Gateway*, 11–19.

51 Virginia G. Berry, “Peter the Venerable and the Crusades,” in *Petrus Venerabilis, 1156–1956: Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of His Death*, ed. Giles Constable and James Kritzeck (Rome, 1956), 141–162; James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton, NJ, 1964).

52 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 58.

53 Ibid., 53–57.

the conduct of war.”⁵⁴ However, this ambiguity did not undermine the idealism called upon once again after the fall of Jerusalem to the forces of Saladin in 1187.

Days after his election as pope in October of 1187, Gregory VIII responded to the trauma of the fall of Jerusalem by issuing “perhaps the most emotive of all crusade bulls,” *Audita tremendi*, which portrayed the events of 1187 as the result of God’s anger over the sinfulness of Christians.⁵⁵ Turning to the Old Testament instead of the Apocalypse of the New, the pope cited the need for atonement found in Maccabees 1.3:58–59, and challenged those who might resist with the admonition that it is “better for us to die in battle than to witness the desecration of our nation and our saints.”⁵⁶ This theme of *peccatis exigentibus* had prevailed since the failure of the Second Crusade,⁵⁷ and would continue well into the thirteenth century.⁵⁸

Following the lead of the message in *Audita tremendi*, the preaching campaign for the Third Crusade began right away. Henry of Albano (1140–1189), who was appointed papal legate in France and Germany, borrowed from the earlier model of Bernard of Clairvaux and preached the crusade as a “service to Christ” and an “opportunity for personal salvation.”⁵⁹ Successful as he was in recruitment, the specific content of these sermons has not been preserved. However, one of Henry’s works (*De peregrinante civitate Dei*) composed during his preaching campaign in the spring of 1188 is more instructive of his views on crusading.⁶⁰ Its themes include the special sanctity of Jerusalem, the

54 Ibid., 60–61. See also Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading 1095–1274* (Oxford, 1985).

55 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 63.

56 *Audita tremendi*, trans. from Anton Chroust, *Quellen zur geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I*, MGH SS rer. Ger. n. s. 5 (Berlin 1928), 6–10, in Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell, eds., *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Philadelphia, 2013), 8.

57 Regarding the various explanations for the failure, and in particular the idea of Christian sinfulness as being responsible, see Giles Constable, “The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries,” *Traditio* 9 (1953): 213–279, reprinted and revised in Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham, UK, 2008), 229–300; Christoph T. Maier, “Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48 (1997): 628–657.

58 Schein, *Gateway*; Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 63–79; and Brenda Bolton, “Serpent in the Dust, Sparrow on the Housetop: Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Circle of Pope Innocent III,” in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, ed. R.N. Swanson, Studies in Church History 36 (Woodbridge, UK, 2000), 154–180.

59 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 65–71; see a more recent summary of the preaching campaign in Tyerman, *God’s War*, 376–389.

60 *Tractatus de peregrinante civitate Dei*, PL 204: 252–402. Cole discusses the text in *Preaching of the Crusades*, 67–70.

obligation of Christians to defend the “homeland of Christ,” and the restatement of the basis for Christian action itself, namely that “faith without works is dead.” The text does indict Saladin as the manifestation of the devil to subvert the worship of Christ, but we find no direct reference to him as the Antichrist, nor to the broader context of the Apocalypse.⁶¹

Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury (d. 1190), who preached the Third Crusade successfully in Wales, and died while redeeming his crusade vow, is said to have characterized it as a war of vengeance, but no actual texts of his sermons survive.⁶² Based on the record of Baldwin’s preaching in the *Itinerarium Cambriae* of Gerald of Wales, who accompanied Baldwin and sometimes preached himself, their success was due to a certain personal charisma and a practical moral message, and not to any more abstract apocalyptic one.⁶³

2 The Apocalyptic Message and the Crusades in the Thirteenth Century

Interest in the apocalyptic reached a high point in the writings and preaching of Joachim of Fiore (1135–1202), the Calabrian abbot whose eschatological views “placed him squarely in the ‘reformist’ intellectual climate of the twelfth century.”⁶⁴ His reputation as a prophet and interpreter of Scripture led Richard I of England while on his way to the Holy Land in 1190 to request a meeting in order to seek Joachim’s counsel with respect to the possible outcome of the Third Crusade. Similarly, early in his reign as pope, Innocent III (r. 1198–1216) came to consider the crusades in the context of Joachim’s apocalyptic overview of the stages of history. Joachim postulated that as Christ’s promises were fulfilled there would be “one fold” before the “end of days” and that both the Jews and the Greeks would be restored to the true faith under the leadership of the Roman Church.⁶⁵ Apparently this fit well with Innocent’s own two-pronged view of the need for a crusade to restore Jerusalem to Christian hands while ending the schism to reunite the two realms of Christendom. However, in light of Joachim’s controversial reputation regarding his teachings on the Trinity, his advanced age (nearly 70), and especially his eschatological interpretations

61 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 68, 70.

62 Ibid., 71–78, here at 75.

63 Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, ed. J.F. Dimock (London, 1868), trans. Lewis Thorpe, *The Journey through Wales/Description of Wales* (London, 1978); Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 77–78.

64 Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 100–101.

65 Ibid., 103.

of history that have been characterized as “too lofty and subtle for common understanding,”⁶⁶ it is unclear why Innocent III asked him to preach the crusade in 1198. Regardless, Joachim did not accept the invitation, and thus we lost perhaps the best opportunity to see what preaching of a crusade in the apocalyptic mode might have become.

Before we regret the loss too much, we should remember that Joachim's exegesis of John's Apocalypse made for very difficult reading and thus tricky to use as the basis for any call for a crusade. The text presents a more complete, colorful, and dramatic presentation of God's revelation of the Last Days than that of Daniel in the Old Testament, and so might have become an appropriate story upon which to build the case for a crusade. It is filled with legends, beasts, and details of the trials of the Christians, including the woes brought by the four horsemen. If simplified, it might even have become a chivalric quest for any knight of whatever roundtable to fulfill. Another *Song of Roland*? Perhaps, but is not an easy tale to translate to a semi-literate lay audience and apply to the role of the Saracens in the Holy Land.

Moreover, Joachim was not a consistent prophet and he had conflicting views regarding the role of the crusade in fulfilling his prophecy which makes it also difficult for modern historians to interpret.⁶⁷ Some view Joachim as an outspoken crusade critic or at least as one who was discouraged by the failure of the Third Crusade which he attributed to “the lack of right order, i.e., penitence and self-conquest among the crusaders.”⁶⁸ Others, such as Richard Southern, see Joachim as a supporter of the crusades because of his view of the Saracens as the hammer of the Antichrist, while Paul Alphandéry came to regard him as a bridge figure, arguing that he supported the crusades as a means to clear the way for the final missionary effort predicted in the Apocalypse of John.⁶⁹

Based on the timing of the interview with Richard, along with projected dates for the writing of his various versions of the apocalyptic story, Randolph

66 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 86–87, quoting Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969), 10.

67 Regarding the varying interpretations of modern scholars see E. Randolph Daniel, “Apocalyptic Conversion: The Joachite Alternative to Crusade,” *Traditio* 25 (1969): 127–154, who argues that Joachim was not sympathetic toward crusading by the time of his death. Similarly, see also Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission* (Princeton, 1994), 112–116. But, see in contrast Richard W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1962), 40–41, and Jean Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps: l'interprétation prophétique des invasions musulmanes dans la chrétienté médiévale* (Paris, 2007), 307–312, 317–326.

68 Daniel, “Apocalyptic Conversion,” 128, and the bibliography in footnotes 4–7.

69 Ibid.

Daniel has concluded that until 1194 Joachim was conflicted. On the one hand, the Saracens were a growing threat to Christendom and this would accelerate into a disaster starting in 1200; and yet, on the other, a major Christian military victory might be possible before 1200 as suggested to Richard I on his way to lead the Third Crusade.⁷⁰ However, after the failure of Richard to secure a major victory thereby, and even though Saladin died in 1193, Joachim's view of the value of crusading apparently changed to opposition. He remained surprisingly optimistic about the ultimate outcome of the apocalyptic struggle, but he shifted more strongly to the view that there was a different means to the end. Weapons would not accomplish the Christian victory, but preaching to convert the Muslims to Christianity could.⁷¹ This conclusion was likely instrumental in Joachim's decision to decline the invitation of Innocent to preach the crusade in 1198.

Within months of assuming the papal tiara Innocent III issued his first call to crusade in August of 1198. *Post miserabile* began with a lamentation on the cross but moved quickly to assert papal authority and initiative over crusading. In urging Christians to fight the war of Christ he underlined the moral obligation of *all* Christians to participate.⁷² The possible influence of Joachim's apocalyptic message is mute as the papal mandate became much more pragmatic and crusade preaching became more directed toward raising money and opening up the crusade to all comers. Anyone could henceforth "fight," even if it meant only sponsoring those who were trained and equipped to use arms, the *milites*, but who could not financially afford to go.⁷³

It was not until after Joachim's death in 1202 that his rather ironic influence on Innocent III apparently came to the fore with the failure of the Fourth Crusade in 1204. Thereafter, the pope began to read Joachim's views as linking the reunion of the Greek Church with Rome "to the conversion of Jews and the worldwide realization of God's fold during the future Sabbath age."⁷⁴ So Innocent rewrote his narrative about the meaning of the Fourth Crusade, turning it from an embarrassing misuse of crusading to a declaration in 1205 that "Peter's boat representing the Church of Rome had 'filled its nets' with a multitude of pagan converts and errant Eastern Christians who were being led back to the Roman faith" via the capture of Constantinople.⁷⁵ Therefore, the pope

70 Ibid., 135.

71 Ibid., 132–136.

72 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 81–82.

73 Ibid., 82–84.

74 Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 137.

75 Ibid., 138.

reasoned that the Holy Land would also be recaptured and both Jews and pagan Saracens there would be converted as well.

In his attempt to realize the latter goal, Innocent issued the papal bull *Quia maior* in 1213 wherein the apocalyptic message appeared directly. Calling upon a passage from John (Apoc. 13:18) to motivate potential crusaders, the pope asserted:

A certain son of perdition, the pseudo-prophet Muhammed, arose, and he seduced many away from the truth.... Even though the perfidy has lasted until the present, still we trust in the Lord who has now made a good sign that the end of the beast, whose number ... counts 666, of which now almost six hundred years are completed, approaches.... Therefore, let us gird ourselves to come to the aid of the crucified.⁷⁶

Although actual crusade sermons preached following the issuance of *Quia maior* in 1213 are lacking, from the time of Innocent forward there was a systematic attempt by the papacy to organize the propaganda effort on behalf of crusading. Although the “propaganda machine” of the friars came after the death of Innocent in 1216, the proliferation of preachers and the papal focus on preaching various crusades makes it likely that every European practicing Christian, of whatever status in society, heard at least one crusade sermon during her or his lifetime.⁷⁷

Intended as an aid to crusade preaching, *Quia maior* was widely disseminated. Since those providing sermons were often expected to read the texts of papal bulls, it is possible that the audiences would have even been exposed in some way to the text of *Quia maior*. However, we have no direct evidence of this, and no indication otherwise that any aspect of the apocalyptic prophecy was used to persuade potential recruits. In fact, much of the bull contained passages regarding the organization of the crusade, the indulgence, and related matters, especially on the question of raising money, which likely attracted most of the attention of the local audiences. Before the recognition of the friars, Innocent had taken pains to charge the canonist-theologians of the University of Paris with the major responsibility for promoting the Fifth Crusade. In doing so he referred them not especially to the apocalyptic message, but to that part of *Quia maior* which asked preachers to focus on the task to “convince men that to receive the cross assured them of salvation, but that to refuse was

76 Bird, Peters and Powell, eds., *Crusade and Christendom*, 108–109. See also, Tolan, *Saracens*, 194–198.

77 Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, 51; for broader analysis, see his Chapter 3.

to be damned.”⁷⁸ Furthermore, in 1215, at the Fourth Lateran Council in his complementary crusading bull *Ad Liberandam*, Innocent gave fullest attention to actual preparations for the crusade with no mention of the Apocalypse.⁷⁹

In issuing *Quia maior* (1213) a Clamor was appended with specific choices for supplicatory psalms, versicles, and prayers to be embedded directly into the Mass or the Office.⁸⁰ The Clamor had been used during the Peace of God, but not so widely or over such a long period of time as in the thirteenth century to promote the crusade. Among those texts, Psalm 79: “O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance, thy holy temple have they defiled,” was featured and linked to apocalyptic battles with Satan for justification of crusading.⁸¹ However, in the prescribed list of texts, neither Daniel nor John’s Apocalypse are mentioned.⁸² Moreover, because the Clamor was part of the Mass, but not any sermon, it had to be brief, leaving no time for eschatological interpretation.

Perhaps the most famous messenger of the Fifth Crusade was Jacques de Vitry (ca.1160–1240), who relied on Old Testament prototypes in trying to convince Christians to assume the zeal and fortitude needed for the journey to the Holy Land. In at least one of de Vitry’s sermons apocalyptic overtones appear in texts drawn from Jeremiah and Isaiah which intimate the End of Days, but the time-bound urgency of the John’s Apocalypse is not there.⁸³ Moreover, this sermon is not directed to potential soldiers but to preachers who de Vitry urges to see themselves as fulfilling the prophecy in Isaiah 11.12: “the Lord will raise his sign to the nations and will assemble the fugitives of Israel, and will gather the scattered of Judah from the four regions of the world.”⁸⁴ So again the apocalyptic message was obscure at best.

As clerical authors tried to understand God’s plan in crusading disasters their analysis was twofold—crusade *and* mission—with the emphasis more

78 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 140.

79 For the text in translation, see Bird, Peters, and Powell, ed., *Crusade and Christendom*, 124–129. For an overview of the council, see Jane Sayers, *Innocent III: Leader of Europe, 1198–1216* (London, 1994), 95–101.

80 Amnon Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2003). Also, see Maier, “Crisis, Liturgy, and the Crusade” (see note 54 above).

81 Linder, *Raising Arms*, 92. Also, see Penny Cole, “O God, the heathen have come unto your inheritance (Ps. 79).’ The Theme of Religious Pollution in Crusade Documents, 1095–1188,” in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller (Leiden, 1993), 84–111.

82 Linder, *Raising Arms*, 6, 8–12.

83 Ibid., 134–135.

84 Ibid., 135.

on preaching to convert as the thirteenth century unfolded.⁸⁵ Five crusades to the Holy Land were actually launched, and many missionaries ventured in pursuit of converts to Muslim Spain and North Africa, as well as the Levant.⁸⁶ However, there is only slight evidence of powerful apocalyptic images being used in the sermons of either type of preaching.

Innocent III's quest to recapture the Holy Land used several approaches to preaching. At first he decided that it should rely on local, diocesan efforts, and not the charismatic "grand tour" of former preachers such as Urban II, Peter the Hermit, and Bernard. This offered advantages and disadvantages. Localization could provide clearer communication using local dialects and familiar preachers, but it would not contain a central core message as per the earlier charismatic preachers. Before finally turning toward the newly developing friars, and, perhaps trying to have it both ways, Innocent made exceptions to his original plan by inviting Joachim, and then the widely popular preacher Fulk of Neuilly (d. 1202), as well as the Cistercian Alsatian abbot, Martin of Pairis, to engage in tours that stretched beyond local and regional boundaries.⁸⁷ Joachim refused, but Fulk and Martin accepted.

Fulk led two preaching tours in support of the Fourth Crusade beginning in late 1198.⁸⁸ His first campaign was controversial and ineffective, but the one of 1201 apparently met with great success, at least among the poor, which disappointed Innocent III who was looking instead to recruit well-equipped warriors. At that time the eschatological ideas of Joachim were circulating in the clerical community, but in neither of these tours are there any documented apocalyptic references to generate enthusiasm.

In the case of Martin of Pairis we do have an account of at least one crusade sermon. In Basel he reached out to an audience that had yet to hear any sermon on the cross. In a forceful and coherent message he portrayed the crusade as justified by the "*necessitas Christi* (necessity of Christ),"⁸⁹ meaning that Christ's land had come under the domination of barbarians who defiled the land consecrated by Christ's own blood.⁹⁰ With no attempt to connect to the Apocalypse, the sermon concluded with an enumeration of the temporal and spiritual rewards for joining the army of Christ. The positive audience reaction was emotional, with much weeping and sighing, to a simple, balanced,

85 Tolan, *Saracens*, 212. Also see Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*.

86 For an overview, see Tolan, *Saracens*, 194–213.

87 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 83–87.

88 Ibid., 88–92.

89 Ibid., 93.

90 Ibid., 94.

personal and charismatic message that recalled the success of charismatic preachers of the first two crusades.⁹¹

Those popes who followed Innocent III continued to sanction crusades and recruit preachers. Under Honorius III (r. 1216–27), the cardinal-legate and theologian John of Abbeville (d. 1237) preached a unique sermon in 1217 that illustrates the complexity of crusade preaching messages.⁹² The cardinal focused on the question that continually plagued the crusade in the thirteenth century, namely, why did God permit the ongoing captivity of Jerusalem by the Muslims? In that era of the renewed interest in the Apocalypse catalyzed by Joachim one might expect Abbeville to draw some connection. Instead the sermon assumed a rueful tone placing the blame for crusade failures on moral corruption within the Church. In reality he was not even trying to raise an army so much as he was striving, as Cole notes, to achieve the “radical moral and spiritual conversion of society necessary for a crusade.”⁹³

In the pontificate of Gregory IX (r. 1227–1241) the issue of a crusade was quite convoluted. The papal conflict with Emperor Frederick II dominated Gregory’s attention. In 1228, with the issuance of *In maris amplitudine*, Frederick finally sailed to Syria in June of 1228, and by February of 1229 without a major military conflict had negotiated a truce that regained Christian control of the Holy Sepulcher but not Jerusalem itself. The pope was furious and continued his efforts to raise a crusade army. A new encyclical of 1234 (*Rachel suum videns*) placed the crusade into a penitential framework, and Gregory assigned a prominent preaching role for the first time to the Franciscans.⁹⁴

Gregory next shifted the focus of Franciscan preaching to one of conversion. In his 1239 bull *Cum hora undecima* he did place the mission in somewhat of an apocalyptic shadow. Because he sensed current times to be in the “eleventh hour” he deemed it necessary that “spiritual men ... should go forth ... [and] prophesy because ... the salvation of the remnant of Israel will not occur until ... all of the gentiles enter first into the church.”⁹⁵ Franciscans and Dominicans were both charged with preaching to convert and friars were sent afar to the

91 Ibid., 95. Our source for the sermon is Gunther of Pairis, *Historia captae a Latinis Constantinopoleos*, PL 212: 223–256.

92 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 150–152. On the Fifth Crusade itself, see James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade 1213–1221* (Philadelphia, 1996), and Tyerman, *God’s War*, 606–649.

93 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 156.

94 Ibid., 161–162.

95 Quote in Tolan, *Saracens*, 222, trans. in James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels: the Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250–1550* (Philadelphia, 1979), 36–37.

Mongol court in China, as well as to the Holy Land to fulfill their obligations.⁹⁶ From this point forward, however, the duality of the apocalyptic prophecy—destroy or convert—caused a further undermining of the potential value of the Apocalypse to recruit crusaders.

By the middle of the thirteenth century the crusade was preached primarily as an act of penance, with models for preaching from Paris masters that were “more didactic than exhortatory,” and “stripped the crusade of its martial realism.”⁹⁷ In the process of mass preaching missions, the crusade mandate became more obscure because the sermon models could be adapted to fit penitential preaching in general. The specifics of crusade sermons actually preached are mostly lost and also our opportunity to better trace the potential influence of the apocalyptic climate. In addition, papal attention was drawn to “European crusades” including an abortive attempt to crusade in Eastern Europe against the Mongols, so we barely find mention of the crusade to the Holy Land until the time of Pope Gregory X (r. 1272–1276).⁹⁸

Prior to the Second Council of Lyons (1274), Gregory sought advice about how to overcome crusading lethargy. The Franciscan Gilbert of Tournai (d. ca. 1281) and the Dominican Master General Humbert of Romans (c. 1190/1200–1277) responded with manuals designed to enable more effective sermons. Gilbert had been composing and preaching successful sermons long before, many of which were collected in his work on moral instruction known as the *Rudimentum doctrinale* (c. 1263).⁹⁹ Three of his *ad status* sermons therein are crusade-related and are based on the text of Apocalypse 7.2: “Then I saw another angel rising from the east, carrying the sign of the living God.”¹⁰⁰ In depicting the cross as a sign of glory the sermons were endowed with a “distinctively

96 The literature is enormous, but for an introduction to it, see Tolan, *Saracens*, bibliographical footnotes to Chapters 9, 10; Christopher Dawson, *Mission to Asia: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, trans. by a nun of Stanbrook Abbey (New York, 1966); Daniel, “Apocalyptic Conversion”; idem, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission*; Berthold Altaner, *Die Dominikanermismissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts: Forschungen zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Unionen und der Mohammedaner und Heidenmission des Mittelalters* (Halbelschwerdt, 1924).

97 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 175.

98 Ibid., 186–187. See also Peter Jackson, “The Crusade against the Mongols (1241),” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 42 (1991): 1–18. On the Mongol threat in the apocalyptic context and the attempt to convert them as well as the Muslims, see Tolan, *Saracens*, 222–225; Flori, *L’islam et la fin des temps*, 338–347; Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*; Charles W. Connell, “Western Views of the Origin of the Tartars: an Example of the Influence of Myth in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 3 (1973): 115–136.

99 Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 195.

100 Ibid., 195–198; quote on 195.

eschatological character” like those of Jacques de Vitry, and avowed that when the End of Time arrives crusaders “will bask in radiance” at the right hand of the Lord, while “those who rejected the cross will be damned.”¹⁰¹

As head of the Dominican Order, Humbert of Romans was also quite involved in studying how to make preaching more effective.¹⁰² Around 1266 he had produced a preaching manual (*De praedicatione crucis*) which began with a justification of the Christian war against the Saracens.¹⁰³ To this earlier treatise there was appended a version of Urban’s speech at Clermont by Baldric of Dol. Interestingly, it was not the rendition by Guibert of Nogent that had put the focus on the apocalyptic message. Perhaps this was because Joachim’s views had become more controversial as the thirteenth century passed along, or because Guibert’s account was not widely circulating.

In response to Gregory prior to Lyons II, Humbert composed a new treatise entitled *Opusculum tripartitum* (*Minor Work in Three Parts*) wherein he compared the current trials of Christians in the Holy Land with those of the Israelites. As Whalen indicates, “Humbert was not a Joachite thinker, in the sense that he did not draw upon Joachim’s notion of the third status,” but he did use popular themes from his work that aligned the persecutions of the Church after Christ’s death with the seven heads of the dragon from the Book of Revelation.¹⁰⁴ Humbert was a ranking member of the Church hierarchy who tried to walk the line amidst the increasingly controversial views of Joachim. Thus, to overcome objections to crusading, he suggested that preachers should return to the more personal approach and emotional appeals provided in the successful preaching of Pope Urban II. But he did not call for using the text of John’s Apocalypse. Unfortunately, the resulting extant model sermons, which may not have been preached in any form, are rather bland and were not likely to raise the level of emotion needed to inspire potential crusaders to the Holy Land.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 200.

¹⁰² For an overview of Humbert and his era, see E.T. Brett, *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society*, Studies and Texts 67 (Toronto, 1984). On the value of Humbert’s work in the context of the thirteenth-century criticism of crusading, see Palmer A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: a Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam, 1940), especially Chapters 6–7.

¹⁰³ Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 202. Regarding issues of the text and its value, see Penny J. Cole, “Humbert of Romans and the Crusade,” *The Experience of Crusading*: vol. 1. *Western Approaches*, ed. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge, 2003), 157–174.

¹⁰⁴ Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 195–197.

¹⁰⁵ Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, 27.

The influence of Joachim continued, especially affecting the Franciscan friars, but there was no apparent crossover of apocalyptic prophecies into their preaching of the crusades.¹⁰⁶ For crusade preaching in the thirteenth century we still have to rely upon those surviving model sermons of well-known preachers, including Jacques de Vitry and Eudes of Chateauroux, as well as Humbert and Gilbert, to speculate on the possible themes. Even when attempting to preach a crusade against the Mongols, whose appearance on the European frontier did raise eschatological expectations and fears, Eudes of Chateauroux offered a model sermon that did not seize upon the apocalyptic prophecies to try to raise the emotional level of potential crusaders. Instead it presented a framework that could have been used to preach any crusade, not one directed toward a particular enemy.¹⁰⁷

3 Conclusion

Following the Second Council of Lyons (1274), the Franciscans became embroiled in a debate over the role of poverty which divided the order and muddled the preaching mission. The Parisian scholastic Peter Olivi (1248–1298) came to see the final days of the world as a period when evangelical poverty on the model of the apostles would return, while his critics argued that the *vita apostolica* was only clearing the way for Antichrist. In his later life, influenced to some degree by Joachim, Olivi wrote a treatise entitled *Lesson on the Apocalypse* that presented a theology of history that blasted the Roman Church as being corrupt and “perched on the edge of apocalyptic tribulations.”¹⁰⁸ None of his work called for a crusade to the Holy Land. Thus, in the decades leading up to the Fall of Acre in 1291, and the final demise of Christian control of any part of the crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, it is more apparent that alternatives to war were being regularly debated and the focus on the Muslim world was more on its conversion in a peaceable manner. In the Olivi controversy we also see why the Apocalypse could be a dangerous tool to use in the call to arms.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Daniel, “Apocalyptic Conversion;” and, idem, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission*.

¹⁰⁷ Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, 27, 145–151. For the Mongol crusade, Jackson, “The Crusade against the Mongols.”

¹⁰⁸ Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 204–205.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 204–212. Olivi was not alone in his attention to the Apocalypse in the late thirteenth century. Even a layman, Arnold of Villanova, wrote *On the Time of Antichrist* in which he attempted a new dating of the actual time of the end of the world. Other prophets beleaguered the Church with their apocalyptic visions, but they were not focused on raising a

In light of the centrality of Antichrist who was often identified with Saracens such as Saladin, the symbolic significance of Jerusalem, and the concept of pollution of that site by the beast of the Apocalypse,¹¹⁰ it is intriguing that the apocalyptic prophecies did not play a more prominent role in preaching the crusades in the thirteenth century. Perhaps the answer to this puzzle lies in the prophecy itself. The Apocalypse of John presents a complicated message and its ongoing exegesis was in the hands of clerics, while the Church needed the laity to crusade. On the one hand, for example, Joachim's commentary and prophecy presents a time framework for resolution of the militant Christian destiny against the armies of Antichrist; on the other, the apocalyptic End of Days also requires a final conversion of all non-Christians before the Final Judgment. The role of preaching to convert was being assigned mainly to the Franciscans, many of whom were adopting Joachite ideas that after 1200 had come to stress conversion rather than crusading, but the post-Joachim interpreters of the Apocalypse were not uniform or consistent.¹¹¹ Regardless, the preaching dynamic had shifted away from a militant association with the apocalyptic. Therefore, any possible value for the popes or the preachers to seize on the potential emotional stimulation of the part of the apocalyptic prophecy that called for elimination of the enemies by force had been seriously undermined or was considered of no value at all.¹¹²

In addition to the complexity of the apocalyptic message, we must remember, as McGinn has wisely noted, the Apocalypse was basically a learned

crusade; instead, they were most often critical of the Church corruption as they perceived it. The Church thus had to analyze their works and often condemned them as heretics. For an overview, of these later developments see Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 212–227; Bert Roest, “Franciscan Commentaries on the Apocalypse,” in *Prophecy and Eschatology*, ed. Michael Wilks (Oxford, 1994), 29–38, who divides the commentaries into three groups, one of which focused on the Joachimist tradition and is considered the “typical way of commenting on the Apocalypse” (36), but does not address any application of their exegesis to crusade or conversion preaching.

110 Cole, “O God, the heathen have come unto your inheritance (Ps. 79.1)” (see note 82 above).

111 For the ongoing conflicting over the exegesis itself and its use among the friars of the later thirteenth century, see David Burr, “Antichrist and Islam in Medieval Franciscan Exegesis,” in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays*, ed. John V. Tolan (New York, 1996), 131–152.

112 McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 89, comments that although “the crusade was not so much the result of apocalypticism as it was a notable stimulus to the revival of apocalyptic themes,” particularly after the success of 1099 when the occupation of Jerusalem spotlighted the role of Jerusalem within the works of twelfth century thinkers.

religious phenomenon that was difficult to use in a lay political context.¹¹³ The medieval Antichrist in particular was a multi-edged sword used to stigmatize enemies of the Church, to console in times of trouble, and in attempts to “move men to pursue specified aims at once political and religious.”¹¹⁴ Yet, even with the recognition by Bernard in the crusade era that “true Christianity was a matter of the heart and not of geography,”¹¹⁵ it still remains something of a mystery as to why Jerusalem, the emotional location of the heart of medieval Christianity which played such a key role in the tradition in the Apocalypse,¹¹⁶ did not provide enough motivation to sustain a Christian effort to recapture and maintain it.¹¹⁷

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¹¹³ McGinn, *Visions of the End*, 293 n. 132.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 31–32.

¹¹⁵ Raedts, “St Bernard and Jerusalem,” 169. Also, for more elaboration and comparison of the medieval Christian and Jewish relationship with Jerusalem, see Joshua Prawer, “Jerusalem in the Christian and Jewish Perspectives of the Early Middle Ages,” *Gli Ebrei nell'alto Medioevo Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 26 (Spoleto, 1980): 745–750, 772.

¹¹⁶ On the sanctity of Jerusalem and its ongoing attraction to Christian pilgrims, especially in the twelfth century, see Schein, *Gateway*, 72–108.

¹¹⁷ I wish to thank the anonymous readers for their constructive comments, and for the one suggestion that I re-examine the work of Benjamin Z. Kedar on the Jerusalem Massacre of 1099. I have done so and expanded the original version of this paper somewhat in order to take his work into consideration as I maintain my analysis.

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PART 3

Perceptions of Crusade and Combatants



Schismatics and Crusaders: Innocent II's Condemnation of John Comnenus in the History of Byzantine and Papal Relations with Latin Antioch

Richard Allington

The crusader capture of Jerusalem in 1099 was a euphoric event for medieval Christians, a miraculous victory over the enemies of Christ and his Church. Understandings of the meaning and implications of this victory, however, were highly contested and differed significantly across Byzantine, crusading, and papal circles. This confusion exacerbated existing divisions and contributed to further disunity and suspicion.

The popes, and their Latin supporters, saw the miraculous success of the First Crusade, against seemingly overwhelming odds, as divine benediction of the reformers' concept of independent papal leadership of Christendom, now harnessed to the medieval desire for pious chivalry. The success of the crusade vindicated the popes' authority to lead armies in defense of Christianity, independent of secular authority, now extended in a special way to the Levant and the Holy Land. Yet in calling the crusade, Urban II (1088–1099), had also been motivated by a desire to aid the embattled Byzantine Empire in response to Emperor Alexius Comnenus' (1081–1118) pleas for assistance. The success of the crusade and such cooperation as was achieved between the Byzantines and the crusaders in this endeavor suggested the possibility that the reformers in the West might continue to extend papal influence and achieve closer union with Greek Christians by providing military support for the Byzantine Empire.¹

Although Urban's successors and Alexius along with his successor John (1118–1143) did work more closely together, they did so in pursuit of different overarching goals. The Byzantines did not view the triumph of the crusade

1 Henry Chadwick, *East and West: The Making of a Rift in the Church; from Apostolic Times until the Council of Florence* (Oxford, 2003), 220; Peter Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (Cambridge, MA, 2016). Steven Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (Oxford, 1955), 55–105; Paul Magdalino, "The Medieval Empire (780–1204)," in *The Oxford History of Byzantium*, ed. Cyril Mango (Oxford, 2002), 189; Joan Hussey, *The Orthodox Church and the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1986), 148–168.

as a mandate for the extension of papal authority throughout the Christian world, but rather the action of rogue mercenaries that could help restore the Byzantine territories captured during earlier Islamic invasions.² Their different understanding of the crusades meant that while relatively amicable relations between the papacy and the Byzantine Empire persisted for almost forty years following the capture of Jerusalem, the territorial legacy of the crusade, Latin principalities in Syria and Palestine, especially the ancient and holy city of Antioch, were a consistent stumbling block to fuller union. Once Byzantine efforts to restore the Empire turned to the Levant, papal and imperial agendas would be opposed.

This fundamental opposition was revealed in 1137 when the Byzantine emperor John Comnenus attacked the crusader principality of Antioch. The next spring, on 28 March, Pope Innocent II (1130–1143) dispatched a letter to the Latin mercenaries serving in John's army. The pope's letter, preserved in the Holy Sepulcher cartulary, condemned the Emperor as a schismatic, referred to him as king rather than emperor, and ordered John's Latin soldiers to remove themselves from the imperial army under pain of damnation, a pain the pope also predicted the emperor would also suffer, if he continued to attack the Crusader States.³ Innocent's letter and John's attack on Antioch revealed that despite temporary compatibility, the Byzantine revival and papal reform agendas that emerged in the medieval Mediterranean in response to the First Crusade were fundamentally opposed. Reactions to this letter would continue to influence the subsequent deterioration in papal-Byzantine relations, manifest in the campaigns of the Second Crusade.

- 2 Nicetas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Nicetas Choniates*, trans. Harry I. Magoulas (Detroit, 1984), 14; Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, trans. Jean E. Ridings (Oxford, 1988), 123. Jonathan Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London, 2003), 56.
- 3 Rudolf Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande* (Göttingen, 1985), no. 49, 168–169, 28 March 1138. "Universis dei fidelibus Latinis qui sunt in exercitu regis Constantinopolitani vel in terra sua habitant salute ... Nunc autem sicut accepimus, rex Constantinopolitanus, qui se ab unitate ecclesie dividit et ... inobediens est, Antiocham ceterasque proximas civitates nititur occupare et sue dominationi subiacere. Quia igitur nostrum est cunctos fideles ad sinum matris sue ecclesie recolligere et ab illicitis prohibere, universitatem vestram rogamus, monemus atque precipimus, et in peccatorum remissionem iniungimus quatinus, si prefatus rex iam dictam Antiocham vel alia loca que fideles Christiani possident occupare vel impugnare presumpserit, vos ab ipsius societate et servizio omnimodis subtrahitis ne in iam presumptuosa invasione opem ei et consilium prebeatis alioquin dampnationis sue vos noveritis esse particeps"; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 131; Ian S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (New York, 1990), 182–183.

1 Papal-Imperial Cooperation

The tenor of Innocent's letter might suggest that papal and Byzantine agendas had never functioned in harmony and that the pope's rhetoric simply re-expressed long-standing differences between Rome and Constantinople. The period from 1073–1136 was nevertheless characterized by cooperation between popes and emperors. While pursuing different long-term goals their immediate interests were generally compatible. The emperors were happy to support the expansion of papal authority in the Mediterranean if it provided them with support against the Turks and protected them from Norman aggression in the West. The popes were happy to increase their cooperation with the Byzantine Empire to help defend Christianity from Islamic expansion, especially if the Byzantines would provide a counter-weight to their rivals and enemies in Italy and were prepared to work towards closer union with the see of Rome. Both parties made efforts to work around their differences and strengthen the relationship between the Eastern and Western Churches. Although they continued to explore these avenues of compatibility, critical areas of misunderstanding relating to the First Crusade, in particular the Norman capture and rule of the city of Antioch, would continue to expose the underlying incompatibility of papal and imperial programs.

Popes and emperors first began to explore opportunities for renewed cooperation in 1073 after the Byzantine defeat at Manzikert. In the aftermath of the battle, Michael VII Doukas (1071–1078) realized that closer relations with the papacy might help stymie Norman attacks on Byzantium to the west and provide support against Turkish attacks to the east. He appealed to Gregory VII (1073–1085) for aid. Gregory wrote back expressing hopes for warmer relations with Byzantium and also wrote to the German emperor Henry IV (1084–1105), outlining his desire to send an army east to aid the Byzantines.⁴

Gregory's approach to supporting the Byzantine Empire was nevertheless shaped and restricted by his main priority to promote the authority of the reform papacy. This agenda, for the moment, remained in many ways opposed to Byzantine interests. As cardinal and pope, Gregory promoted the independence of the papacy by nurturing the papal alliance with Robert Guiscard, the Norman leader. He pursued this policy mainly as a means of liberating the papacy from the influence of Henry IV, but its implementation often came at the

4 Gregory VII, "Epistulae," in *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft*, ed. Erich Caspar, 2 vols. (Tubingen, 1930), 1.18, 2.31; Chadwick, *East and West*, 220; Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 55.

expense of Byzantine territory and Greek Christian practice in southern Italy.⁵ As pope, he condemned Alexius I as a usurper and even sanctioned further Norman incursions on the east coast of the Adriatic in 1081. Alexius retaliated by closing all the Latin churches in Constantinople with the exception of those maintained by his allies, the Venetians.⁶

Byzantine and papal interests were therefore still largely opposed, but the emperors had come to appreciate the diplomatic value a papal alliance could provide in their struggle with the Normans.⁷ The popes, for their part, had recognized that the expansion of papal influence championed by the reformers demanded that they pursue closer union with Greek Christians and protect the practice of Christianity in the Levant. The further alignment of these interests was realized in the pontificate of Urban II, who followed a more diplomatic approach in his relations with Byzantium and provided more substantive assistance to the Empire. After a number of friendly embassies, Alexius eventually appealed directly to Urban for armed support and received it, although in a form he certainly had not anticipated, with the arrival of the First Crusade in 1096.⁸ The success of the expedition, against all odds, heralded the revival of Christian influence in the Levant, initiated in part by papal-imperial collaboration.

The status of Antioch after the First Crusade would constantly test this collaboration. Despite the success of the First Crusade, Alexius and the Byzantines did not emerge from the immediate aftermath of the expedition with enhanced reputations among Latin Christians. Many of the crusaders despised the Byzantines in general for the lack of effort they appeared to have shown in opposing Muslim conquests, and Alexius in particular for seeming to betray them in their most desperate hour during the siege of Antioch.⁹ Alexius made a prudential decision to abandon his effort to relieve the crusaders at Antioch, wrongly informed that their army was doomed. This decision, nevertheless

5 J. Gay, *L'Italie Meridionale et l'Empire Byzantine (867–1071)* (Paris, 1904), 516–519; Magdalino, “The Medieval Empire (780–1204),” 189; Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 57.

6 *Anonymi Historia Sicula a Normannis ad Petrum Aragonensem*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. L. Muratori, 28 vols. (Milan, 1726), 8:1192; Magdalino, “The Medieval Empire (780–1204),” 190; Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 61.

7 Venance Grumel, ed. *Les registres des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, fasc. 1–3 (Paris, 1972), 954; Hussey, *The Orthodox Church and the Byzantine Empire*, 168. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 105.

8 Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, trans. E.R.A. Sewter, rev. Peter Frankopan (Baltimore, 2009), 276–296; Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 56.

9 Heinrich Hagenmeyer, ed. *Epistolae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes: die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahre 1088–1100* (Hildesheim, 1973), 161–165; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 40; Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 84.

gave Bohemond (1098–1111) the opportunity to declare that the emperor had forfeited the oath he had forced the crusaders to swear to him in Constantinople that he would protect them and they would acknowledge him as their overlord. Bohemond now demanded Antioch as his personal principality. The Norman leader successfully outmaneuvered Raymond of Toulouse into assenting to his claim and, after the conclusion of the crusade, returned to establish his rule over Antioch and the surrounding region.¹⁰

Bohemond continued to try and strengthen his independent rule of Antioch by propagating the Byzantine reputation for cowardice and betrayal and setting Latins and Byzantines against each other. In 1106, he visited northern Europe, and used his prestige as a hero of the First Crusade to raise an army to attack Byzantine territories in the Balkans.¹¹ Those who joined Bohemond's army certainly did so on the understanding that they would be attacking Byzantium and Bohemond even claimed to have received approval from the new pope Paschal II (1099–1118) to launch this expedition as a crusade. Byzantine sources like Anna Komnene undoubtedly viewed the expedition as approved by Paschal and were shocked and outraged by the pope's decision to sanction war against another Christian kingdom.¹²

If Paschal did indeed approve Bohemond's expedition, it was an aberration of his normal policy of promoting amicable relations with the Byzantine Empire. Papal and imperial interests found themselves more closely aligned in the years following the First Crusade. Bohemond's campaign itself was a fiasco and Paschal appears to have attempted to repair relations with Alexius immediately.¹³ Jonathan Phillips has indeed questioned whether Paschal ever officially approved Bohemond's expedition, or whether that claim was simply part of the Norman leader's recruitment propaganda.¹⁴ There is certainly an important distinction to be drawn between the general unpopular opinion of

¹⁰ *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. R. Hill (London, 1962), 45.

¹¹ Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969–1980), 6:68–71; Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven, 2007), 6–7; Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204: A Political History* (London, 1997), 129; James Naus, *Constructing Kingship: The Capetian Monarchs of France and the Early Crusades* (Manchester, 2018); Brett Edward Whalen, “God’s Will or Not? Bohemond’s Campaign Against the Byzantine Empire (1105–1108)” in *Crusades: Medieval Worlds in Conflict*, ed. Thomas F. Madden, James Naus, and Vincent Ryan (Burlington, VT, 2010), 111–126.

¹² Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, ed. and trans. Henri Waquet (Paris, 1964), 33–51; Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, 352–353; Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 88.

¹³ Peter the Deacon, *Chronicon Monasterii Casinensis*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores 7:770*; Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 95 and 106.

¹⁴ Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, 6:103–104; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 7–9.

the Byzantines among Latin Christians and papal and imperial efforts to find common ground.

Alexius too attempted to develop a stronger relationship with the papacy that would protect the Byzantines from the Normans and offer the popes protection from the Germans. He used a papal legate to witness the Treaty of Devol in 1108, whereby Bohemond agreed to become a vassal of the emperor and accept a Greek patriarch of Antioch.¹⁵ In accepting these terms Alexius risked unpopularity in Byzantine circles, among those who wished him to deal more harshly with Bohemond, or condemn the papal interference in Byzantium explicitly. In general, he was prepared to risk the censure of the clergy and people at home in order to maintain healthy relations with Rome.¹⁶ Alexius continued to work with Paschal on plans for fuller union with Rome in 1111 and 1114. In 1110, he offered to defend the pope against Henry V's (1111–1125) efforts to control the papacy, proposing a reunion of the Churches sealed by his coronation as emperor.¹⁷ Alexius also sent an embassy to Rome in 1117 to discuss Church union and the political and ecclesiastical administration of territories conquered by the crusaders.¹⁸

Alexius' diplomatic strategy was successful in that Paschal did not approve any further western invasions of the Byzantine Empire. The papacy's renewed relations with the Byzantines provided opportunities for discussions intended to promote closer union between Latin and Greek Christians and further expanding the scope of papal authority. With the death of both pope and emperor in 1118, Alexius' successor John II continued his father's policy of cultivating good relations with the papacy.

While John's primary goal was to advance the Byzantine border across northern Syria to the Euphrates, his early campaigns were focused on securing his eastern and western borders, theaters where he still could and attempted to cooperate with the papacy. The emperor spent the first years of his reign campaigning in the Balkans, as well as cultivating friendly relations with both the papacy and the German empire, hoping to nullify the threat to his western border posed by the Norman kingdom of Sicily.¹⁹ John had first turned his attention to Asia Minor and the Danishmends, a Turkish tribe, who held territory in

15 Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, 385–396; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 92–94.

16 Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, 385–396; Grumel, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, 940; Hussey, *The Orthodox Church and the Byzantine Empire*, 148.

17 Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 14.

18 J.P. Migne ed. *Patrologia Latina Database*, [hereafter PL] (Alexandria, VA, 1995), 227:911–920; Hussey, *The Orthodox Church and the Byzantine Empire*, 179; Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 108.

19 Hussey, *The Orthodox Church and the Byzantine Empire*, 171.

Anatolia and Syria. John captured a string of castles in Anatolia during the first two years of his reign, before returning to Europe and defeating the Pechenegs, who had invaded and overrun Thrace.²⁰ From 1130–1135 the emperor achieved success after success against the Danishmends, marching through Bithynia and Paphlagonia and extending his territories beyond the Halys river.²¹

John also contested trading privileges in a sporadic war with Venice from 1122–1128, but both sides were content to accept Pope Calixtus II's (1119–1124) peace mediations, which allowed John to return to his campaigns in Anatolia.²² He and Calixtus both exchanged embassies in 1122.²³ Calixtus sent another letter the following year setting out a plan for reunification. This letter has been lost, but John's reply survives, in which the emperor takes a most respectful tone, apologizing for his tardy response and reaffirming his desire to contribute to the success of this reconciliation.²⁴ Good relations appear to have continued during the early years of Innocent II's pontificate. John himself took the lead in organizing a debate on issues dividing the eastern and western Churches in 1136 and invited the pope to send delegates to represent the Latin perspective in these discussions.²⁵

Although the presence of the Norman crusaders represented the emergence of a serious rival to Byzantine efforts to recover territory in the Levant, for the first years after the capture of Jerusalem the Byzantines were occupied with more immediate priorities and were not in a position to attack the Norman principality. The Normans gradually gained control of the strategic areas they needed to hold in order to secure the region around the city.²⁶ According to the terms of the Treaty of Devol, Antioch was designated as a fief of the Byzantine Empire with a Greek patriarch, but Bohemond's nephew and successor Tancred (1106–1112) simply ignored the treaty and there was little the emperors

20 Franz Dolger, *Regesten der Kaiserkunden des ostromischen Reiches von 565–1453, Regesten von 1025–1204* (Hildesheim, 1977), 1306.

21 Choniates, *O City of Byzantium*, 12, 20; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 96–117.

22 Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127) Mit erlauterungen und einem Anhang*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), 3:41, 758–761; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 98.

23 Augustin Theiner and Franciscus Miklosich, *Monumenta spectantia ad unionem ecclesiarum Graecae et Romanae* (Vienna, 1872), 1–3; Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 91.

24 Theiner and Miklosich, *Monumenta spectantia*, 1–3. Mary Stroll, *Calixtus II (1119–1124): A Pope Born to Rule* (Leiden 2004), 445–446.

25 Anselm of Havelberg, "Dialogorum Libri III," in *Spicilegium sive collection veterum aliquot scriptorium*, ed. L' d'Achery, 3 vols. (Paris, 1723), 3:161–207; Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 91; Hussey, *The Orthodox Church and the Byzantine Empire*, 180.

26 Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, 321; Thomas S. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098–1130* (Woodbridge, UK, 2000), 26–28.

could do to bring the principality to heel at least until 1130.²⁷ Alexius and John prioritized their western borders and attempted to improve their relations with the papacy, an implicit condition of which was the absence of aggression towards crusader principalities.²⁸ The Normans, meanwhile, were occupied by the emergence of a powerful Muslim principality in Aleppo.²⁹

Thus relations between the Byzantine Empire and the papacy, after Manzikert, aside from a short period of tension following the First Crusade and Bohemond's invasion, were generally characterized by efforts to find common ground and maintain cordial diplomatic relations. Aiding Byzantine Christians was central to Urban's preaching of the First Crusade and Alexius and John both labored assiduously to include papal representatives in their diplomatic negotiations with the West and maintain ecumenical dialogue between Latin and Greek Christians.³⁰ This policy of cultivating amicable relations and Innocent's warm acceptance of John's invitation to send representatives to Constantinople makes his blunt denunciation of John, even to a Latin audience, a little over a year later, more surprising. Similarly, John's decision to campaign against Antioch, knowing he risked jeopardizing this relationship by invading crusader territory appears inconsistent and uncharacteristically rash.

2 The Attack on Antioch

An explanation of the situation in Antioch and John and Innocent's respective positions in 1137, offers helps clarify the reasoning behind Innocent and John's decisions. It reveals why this particular city became a focal point of both the Latin reform program and Byzantine efforts to restore the empire in a way that exacerbated the points of disagreement between these two parties.

The emergence of a crusader principality in Antioch made the city a symbol of efforts to further the papal reform movement following the First Crusade. The establishment of papal sovereignty over one of the ancient patriarchal

27 "Chartres de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Josaphat," *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 7 (1890): 115–116; Andrew D. Buck, "Between Byzantium and Jerusalem? The Principality of Antioch, Reynaud of Chatillon, and the Penance of Mamistra in 1158," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 30, no. 2 (2015): 107–125, 108; Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098–1130*, 62–99; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 5.

28 Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch*, 100–103.

29 Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb (London, 1932), 158; Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch*, 75–81.

30 *The "Historia Hierosolymitana" of Robert the Monk*, ed. D. Kempf and M.G. Bull (Rochester, NY, 2013), 5; Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 78.

sees would mark a significant expansion of papal authority and reiterate that the success of the Crusade had not only helped establish the popes as leaders of Christendom in the West, but also in the Levant. While the crusaders restored the Greek patriarch John IV of Antioch to his see upon their conquest of the city, Bohemond expelled him from Antioch in 1100 in order to support his rule by establishing a Latin patriarchate and clergy.³¹ Bernard of Valence, who had previously served as the chaplain of Adhemar of Le Puy, became the first Latin patriarch of Antioch. Over the course of the next fifteen years Bernard achieved a position of significant influence within the principality, serving as both the religious leader of the community and the accepted political deputy when the secular ruler was away in the West or on campaign.³²

The reformers, nevertheless struggled to position other Latin patriarchal sees, especially a second Petrine see, within the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Indeed, Bernard, and his successor Ralph refused to accept Roman primacy over their see.³³ Asbridge notes Paschal's decision to avoid employing language evoking papal supremacy when writing to Bernard, unlike his correspondence with the patriarch of Jerusalem. He also describes Bernard's willingness to challenge papal authority regarding jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical province of Tyre. Bernard's successor, Ralph, did not even acknowledge Innocent II upon his election as patriarch.³⁴ In the establishment of a Latin patriarchate at Antioch, the papacy had seen an opportunity to extend its direct influence over the Church in accord with the reform agenda, but the early Latin patriarchs remained stumbling blocks to the expansion of direct papal reform and governance in Antioch, not unlike their Greek predecessors and rivals.

Amid the early successes of his reign, regaining Antioch remained central to John's efforts to restore the Byzantine Empire. He had sent an embassy to Antioch in the earliest days of his reign, although it was rebuffed by King Baldwin II (1118–1131) of Jerusalem, who was serving as regent for Bohemond II.³⁵ John's desire to restore Byzantine rule of Antioch was not motivated simply by

31 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Robert B.C. Huygens, 2 vols., Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievals 63, 63A (Turnhout, 1986), 340; Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch*, 195; Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 76.

32 Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, 2 vols. (Innsbruck, 1896), 2.1.1–5; Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch*, 1098–1130, 203.

33 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 602; Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch*, 209–210.

34 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 617–618; Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch*, 210;

■ Please provide complete text part for footnote "34" (if any).

35 Dolger, *Regesten der Kaiserkunden des ostromischen Reiches von 565–1453*, 1303; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 96.

political and territorial goals, but by historical and cultural memory and religious conviction.³⁶ The Byzantines had only lost Antioch to the Seljuks in 1085 and consequently retained a strong cultural attachment to the city, while deeply resenting the construction of a Latin principality and patriarchate at Antioch. They saw the Normans as reneging on the Treaty of Devol in their refusal to acknowledge Byzantine suzerainty.³⁷ Even more importantly they saw the crusaders as gravely in error in creating a new line of Latin patriarchs, who they viewed as no more than puppets of imperial mercenaries gone rogue.³⁸ The Byzantines maintained their own line of Orthodox Antiochene patriarchs at Constantinople, a controversy that Runciman argues marked the true beginning of a lasting schism between the eastern and western Churches.³⁹ They saw themselves as justified in regaining political and religious control of one of the most venerable Christian cities that was also of central importance to political control of northern Syria and consistently approached relations with the principality of Antioch with this understanding.⁴⁰

John pursued control of Antioch more actively from 1130 onwards, after Bohemond's death in 1130, survived by only a two-year-old daughter, Constance, made the political future of the principality of Antioch uncertain. Some Byzantines feared that Roger II of Sicily (1130–1154) would disinherit Constance and claim the lands of Antioch for himself as the last surviving male of the Hauteville family.⁴¹ The Byzantines sought to avoid this outcome at all costs. They could not afford to give their most dangerous enemy the opportunity to attack them from both east and west, let alone possession of a city they regarded as one of the most important in the world.⁴² Furthermore, the Antiochenes had initially dispatched envoys to Constantinople proposing a marriage between

36 Liudprand, *Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. Brian Scott (London, 1992), 186–187; Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 76.

37 John Cinnamus, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. Charles M. Brand (New York, 1976), 22; David Parnell, "John Comnenus and Crusader Antioch," in *Crusades: Medieval Worlds in Conflict*, 151.

38 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 340; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 247–248; Hussey, *The Orthodox Church and the Byzantine Empire*, 182.

39 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 463; Bernard Hamilton, "Ralph of Domfront: Patriarch of Antioch 1135–1140," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 28 (1984): 2; Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 91–92; ■ Please provide complete text part for footnote "39" (if any).

40 Leo the Deacon, *Nikephoros Phokas "der bleiche Tod der Sarazenen" und Johannes Tzimiskes*, trans. Franz Loretto (Vienna, 1961), 72; Hussey, *The Orthodox Church and the Byzantine Empire*, 175–176.

41 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 623; Hamilton, "Ralph of Domfront: Patriarch of Antioch 1135–1140," 3.

42 Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 76.

Constance and John's son Manuel, but influenced by the Latin clergy and the Norman population of the city they then changed their minds and instead invited a Latin noble, Raymond of Poitiers to come to Antioch to marry Constance. John proclaimed himself offended that they had not seen fit to consult him before making such an arrangement.⁴³

While the disappointment of a failed marriage arrangement, between John's son Manuel and Constance the daughter of Bohemond, should not be underestimated, it would scarcely have sufficed on its own to provoke such a large-scale invasion with such potentially disastrous diplomatic consequences.⁴⁴ John had already laid the diplomatic foundations for an attack on the principality and tried to protect himself from the repercussions in 1135 when he dispatched envoys to the court of the German emperor to form an alliance with Lothair (1133–1137) and the pope against the Normans in Sicily and also concluded treaties with Pisa and Venice.⁴⁵

John's decision to attack Antioch in 1137 was driven by the long-established Byzantine goal of achieving full suzerainty over Antioch and rehabilitating the Greek ecclesiastical hierarchy, combined with fear of Roger's political ambitions.⁴⁶ He appealed to the past and to the common Byzantine understanding of the crusades to defend his expedition. He felt that territory gained by the crusaders should be ruled from Constantinople, as part of the restoration of Byzantine territories in Syria. Although the emperor launched these campaigns towards the end of his reign, the importance of Antioch meant that unlike earlier conflicts, those aimed at Antioch superseded previous priorities such as maintaining amicable relations with the papacy.

In late 1137 John began his Syrian campaign. He took Tarsus, Adana, and Mopsuestia almost unopposed, placing Greek bishops in each of these cities and besieged Antioch.⁴⁷ Led by an inexperienced ruler and no possibility of outside aid, the city was in no position to resist his army. The Byzantines laid siege to the city and bombarded the walls, while the Antiochenes made a number of sorties. The Normans were too weak to sustain a more serious conflict, however, and John realized that he could not risk the diplomatic consequences

43 John Cinnamus, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, 22; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 662–663.

44 Cinnamus, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, 22.

45 Dolger, *Regesten der Kaiserkunden des ostromischen Reiches von 565–1453*, 1312; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 1096–1204, 113–117.

46 Choniates, *O city of Byzantium*, 5–23; Cinnamus, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, 7–21; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 109–111; Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 80.

47 Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 118.

of waging a more outright war against a crusader state.⁴⁸ Both sides quickly came to the negotiating table, where Raymond of Poitiers offered to declare himself a vassal of John and guaranteed his entry into Antioch if the emperor would grant him control of Aleppo, Shaizar, Homs, and Emesa.⁴⁹

With the treaty agreed, the Byzantine army retired to their winter quarters in Cilicia. John must have hoped that with his suzerainty thus acknowledged in northern Syria it could be only a matter of time before all the crusader states in some way acknowledged his overlordship of the region, thus providing him with a buffer-zone of crusader states to protect him from Muslim threats to the east.⁵⁰ He considered the city worth the price of risking at least the mild alienation of some of his western allies, but hoped that conflicts in Italy would give him the opportunity to pursue this goal unmolested. Good relations with the papacy over the previous forty years may have influenced him to hope that the pope, if not approving, would not directly oppose this endeavor.

John justified his invasion by appealing to the memories of Byzantine political influence and the tradition of Greek Christianity in Syria. These appeals did not, however, account for the ways the papacy had changed under the eleventh and twelfth-century reformers or the particular background and circumstances of Innocent II's pontificate. Innocent was elected as successor to Honorius II (1124–1130) as a proponent of the Concordat of Worms, where he was present as a papal diplomat. He was opposed by an anti-pope, Anacletus, however, whose supporters considered the compromises of Worms a betrayal of the original principles of the Gregorian Reform. His efforts to secure recognition of his position at the expense of Anacletus would dominate the first eight years of his pontificate and shape his relations with the Byzantines, Germans, and Normans. Innocent was anxious to consolidate his position among the reformers and promoted the traditional position of the movement to establish the pope as the unchallenged leader of the whole Church. He enjoyed the unwavering support of Bernard of Clairvaux, the leader of the later reform movement and won the recognition of the French and English monarchs in 1131 as well as Lothair, who was crowned emperor by Innocent in exchange for providing military support against Anacletus in Italy.

Despite the death of his imperial patron, when Lothair died in December 1137, the first months of 1138 offered new opportunities for Innocent to exercise

48 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 669–670; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 121.

49 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 671; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 121.

50 Choniates, *O City of Byzantium*, 14; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 123; Parnell, "John Comnenus and Crusader Antioch," 152.

papal power and continue the work of the reform movement.⁵¹ He had recently fallen out with Lothair anyway. The death of the emperor and the subsequent confusion and civil war in Germany weakened one threat to papal authority. While Innocent would not make peace with the Normans until 1139, he had won a number of victories against them and had reduced their territory in Italy south of Rome. Furthermore, Anacletus had died on 25 January.⁵² Although a successor to Anacletus, Victor IV, was elected in early March, the strength of Innocent's position in Italy and that of his backers in the north meant that Victor had few supporters and he submitted to Innocent within a month. Innocent was now in his strongest position yet as pope. He most certainly would have heard of John's expedition in 1137, but at that point his political position in Italy was still uncertain. The seasonal close of Mediterranean shipping and John's alliance with Lothair would also have influenced him to avoid condemning John's actions immediately.⁵³ By early 1138, however, with the political situation increasingly weighted in his favor, Innocent saw an opportunity to fully adopt the role of a reform pope and promote papal authority more aggressively, to the detriment of his relations with Byzantium.

For Innocent, John's invasion of crusader Antioch challenged the reformers' goals of extending papal authority in the Church and especially in the Levant. John had not only demanded suzerainty over Antioch, but had also installed Greek bishops in Cilicia, weakening papal authority in the region.⁵⁴ Indeed, the treaty of 1137 mandated the restoration of the Greek hierarchy to Antioch. The conduct of Ralph, the Latin patriarch of Antioch, further reveals how Innocent's approach to the situation was driven by the goal of advancing the authority of the reform papacy. Ralph was desperate to maintain his position as patriarch and was now faced with the possibility of John assuming control of Antioch. He had initially labored assiduously to stymie Byzantine influence in the city by bringing about the marriage between Constance and Raymond and excluding Manuel.⁵⁵ Previously, he had also maintained his predecessor's disavowal of direct papal authority over another Petrine see, but following

51 Peter the Deacon, *Chronicon Monasterii Casinensis*, 820; John Gordon Rowe, "The Papacy and the Greeks," *Church History* 28 (1959): 116; James Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire* (New York, 1913), xl.

52 Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 133.

53 Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 130–132.

54 Hussey, *The Orthodox Church and the Byzantine Empire*, 170, 175–176; Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 86; Peter Edbury, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (New York, 1988), 114.

55 Hamilton, "Ralph of Domfront: Patriarch of Antioch 1135–1140," 5–8.

the treaty of 1137 he offered to acknowledge Innocent's supremacy if the pope would only maintain the Latin patriarchate.⁵⁶ Innocent, having heard of John's expedition and received Ralph's letter saw this situation providing the opportunity for him to establish direct papal sovereignty over the Latin patriarchates in the Levant. This authority was a long-standing, but as yet unfulfilled goal of the reform papacy, but one which Innocent saw was threatened by John's plan to reinstate a Greek patriarchal line less sympathetic to these goals.⁵⁷

Innocent did not comment on the legitimacy of Byzantine claims to Antioch, but he made it clear that he viewed John as schismatic and rejected any rule of crusader states by a schismatic overlord, who would by definition reject the type of direct papal authority Innocent desired.⁵⁸ The pope would also have been mindful of the virulent anti-Latin and anti-papal sentiments expressed by one of John's ambassadors to the court of Lothair the year before. John had sent troops to Italy to support Lothair in his campaigns against Anacletus and Roger of Sicily in 1136, but this ambassador made it clear that he viewed these campaigns as waged to restore Byzantine territories in southern Italy and rejected any papal temporal or spiritual sovereignty in the region.⁵⁹ In light of these comments and John's expedition again Antioch, by early 1138 Innocent would have increasingly seen the Byzantines as enemies of the papal reform agenda both in Italy and in the Levant.⁶⁰ The death of Anacletus and Ralph's appeal for aid provided him with further opportunities to strengthen his credentials with the reformers and reconcile with the Normans, while continuing to extend papal authority.

The Byzantine goal of restoring imperial authority and Greek patriarchs to Antioch would establish the empire as a threat to efforts to extend the authority of the reform papacy in the crusader Levant, vindicated by the success of the First Crusade. John besieged Antioch in 1137, hoping that his alliance with Innocent against the Normans and papal conflicts in Italy would prevent such actions from causing lasting damage to papal-imperial relations. Unfortunately for him, the importance and recent history of the city of Antioch meant that it

56 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 641–649; Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, no. 49, 168–169; Rudolf Hiestand, "The Papacy and the Second Crusade," in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. Jonathan Phillips and Martin Hoch (Manchester, 2001), 33.

57 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 636–637; Hamilton, "Ralph of Domfront: Patriarch of Antioch 1135–1140," 10–11.

58 Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, no. 49, 168–169; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096–1204*, 131–132.

59 Peter the Deacon, *Chronicon Monasterii Casinensis*, 833; Rowe, "The Papacy and the Greeks," 120; Hamilton, "Ralph of Domfront: Patriarch of Antioch 1135–1140," 11.

60 Paul Stephenson, "Political History (1025–1204)," in *Palgrave Advances in Byzantine History*, ed. Jonathan Harris (Basingstoke, UK, 2005), 51.

had become a symbol of both the expansion of papal authority and the revival of the Byzantine Empire, while circumstances in Italy meant that Innocent took a direct interest in the negotiations. In the early years of his pontificate, Innocent's reform credentials had been questioned. Following the deaths of his rival, Anacletus, and the Byzantine ally Lothair, and enjoying the fruits of military success in Italy, Innocent saw himself called to condemn John for attacking the Outremer territories, concrete symbols of papal leadership of the Christian world and attempting to dethrone a patriarch, who had just offered his loyalty to the pope. While John appealed to an older tradition of Byzantine rule in Syria, Innocent saw the Byzantines as threatening the work of the reform movement and responded accordingly.

3 Reaction to Innocent's Letter

In the aftermath of Innocent's letter, John was forced to abandon Syria and return to Constantinople to protect the empire from any possible western invasion inspired or encouraged by papal rhetoric. Otherwise, however, Innocent's letter appeared to have had little immediate effect. John secured his borders, affirmed his alliance with the Germans and was confident enough in the security of his position to attack Antioch again in 1142. There is even some doubt as to whether John was aware of the letter or would have seen it at all. It is nevertheless true that from 1138 onwards relations between papacy and empire deteriorated appreciably and there was little evidence of the efforts to further cooperation, which had characterized previous years. The situation surrounding Antioch and Innocent and John's reactions revealed the incompatibility of papal and imperial agendas to both parties and contributed to an atmosphere of deepening mistrust over the years that followed. The Byzantines increasingly viewed subsequent crusading campaigns as designed to attack Byzantium, while the Latins saw the Byzantines as actively working to defeat the crusades and allied with the enemies of Christianity.

For the moment, John continued his Levantine campaign. In early 1138 the emperor united his army with those of Raymond and Jocelin of Edessa to fulfil the treaty of Antioch signed the previous autumn. They reconnoitered Aleppo, but deemed it too strong to attack and instead besieged Shaizar. William of Tyre suggests that John's Norman allies hampered his direction of the siege. They did not wish the expedition to be successful, since that would have meant they had to give up Antioch, in keeping with their treaty with John.⁶¹ Eventually

61 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 673–675; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 127; Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 83–84.

the emperor was forced to raise the siege, threatened the approach of Zengi's army. He demanded that Raymond and Jocelin allow him to maintain his army at Antioch so that he could prepare another campaign to capture the cities he had agreed to bestow on them. They, however, stirred up the Latins in the city to riot against the prospect of Byzantine rule, and the emperor was forced to withdraw and returned to Constantinople.⁶²

John's decision to retreat and not attack Antioch suggests that he was now aware of Innocent's letter, which would have arrived in the Levant by this point. He might well have seen this letter as directed not only to Latins serving in his army, but also his Latin allies in the West, placing his territories in Thrace and the Balkans under threat. There is some debate about the provenance of Innocent's letter, Hiestand acknowledges that Innocent could have written it in response to John's 1142 campaign, rather than the invasion of 1137.⁶³ There is also the question of whether the pope's letter reached John, or even Innocent's intended audience, the Latin mercenaries in the imperial army. The presence of the letter in the Holy Sepulcher cartulary suggests that it would have been sent to the Levant to be disseminated by the Latin clergy, but this does not mean that it ever reached its recipients or that the emperor heard of it. At the same time, both Hiestand and Phillips emphasize the extensive contact between the Latin Levantine sees and the papacy beginning in 1137, driven in large part by the patriarch Ralph, whose plea to Innocent had probably precipitated the letter.⁶⁴ This situation suggests that Innocent would have been well aware of events in Antioch and was certainly in a position to compose this letter in 1138. Furthermore, John's decision to return to Constantinople and immediately take steps to strengthen his diplomatic position in the West by seeking an alliance with Lothair's successor Conrad (1138–1152) shows that he was concerned about his relations with Latin Christians.⁶⁵ The speed with which the emperor carried out this withdrawal and retrenchment supports the argument that he had seen was concerned about Innocent's letter.

Innocent's letter certainly did not discourage the Byzantines from attacking Antioch for long. Indeed, since unlike Lothair, Conrad did not have close

62 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 681; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 128.

63 Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, 168.

64 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 641–649; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 4; Hiestand, "The Papacy and the Second Crusade," 33; Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (New York, 2016).

65 Choniates, *O City of Byzantium*, 18; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 133; Konrad Heilig, "Ostrom und das Deutsche Reich um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Kaisertum und Herzogsgewalt im Zeitalter Friedrichs I*, ed. Theodor Mayer, Konrad Heilig, and Carl Erdmann (Leipzig, 1944) 1–271; Rowe, "The Papacy and the Greeks," 116–118.

political ties with the papacy at this point, John felt free to attack Antioch again in 1142.⁶⁶ The chroniclers acknowledge that this expedition was motivated by John's desire to solidify the gains made on his previous campaign and to finally restore Antioch to Byzantine control. The emperor was also concerned that Raymond would renege on the agreement to surrender Antioch to imperial suzerainty he had made in 1137.⁶⁷ There was no evidence that he had taken any steps to do so five years later. John's army marched through Cilicia and then appeared in front of Turbessel, Jocelin's seat of government. John forced Jocelin to provide hostages in order to secure the implementation of the treaty of 1137. He then marched to Antioch and demanded its surrender in accordance with the terms previously agreed. While Raymond and King Fulk of Jerusalem (1131–1143) vacillated, however, John died as the result of a hunting accident and his son Manuel (1143–1180) returned as quickly as possible to Constantinople to secure his succession, again putting a halt to Byzantine pressure on Frankish northern Syria.⁶⁸ This respite lasted a less than two years, however, as Manuel unleashed a large-scale land and sea assault on the principality in 1144.⁶⁹ Raymond was frightened enough to go to Constantinople and prostrating himself at Manuel's feet declare his fealty to the emperor.⁷⁰ At long last the Byzantines were once again the rulers of Antioch. Buck has rightly drawn attention to the role the citizens of Antioch played in these negotiations. He argued that far from being merely passive observers of these conflicts they chose to side with the Byzantines and forced Raymond to go to Constantinople, just as they would later force Renaud de Chatillon to similarly humiliate himself before Manuel in 1158.⁷¹ John's 1137 campaign therefore marked the beginnings of a closer alliance between Antioch and Constantinople, but one that was achieved at the expense of previous papal-imperial amicability and cooperation.⁷²

66 Choniates, *O City of Byzantium*, 22; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 701; Hamilton, "Ralph of Domfront: Patriarch of Antioch 1135–1140," 16; George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. Joan Hussey (Oxford, 1956), 337; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 134–138; Helene Wieruszowski, "Roger II of Sicily Rex-Tyrannus, in Twelfth-Century Political Thought," *Speculum* 38, no. 1 (1963): 59–61.

67 Choniates, *O City of Byzantium: annals of Nicetas Choniates*, 22; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 701; Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 337.

68 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 694; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 135–138.

69 Choniates, *O City of Byzantium*, 31–32; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 15.

70 Cinnamus, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, 35–36; Buck, "Between Byzantium and Jerusalem," 109.

71 Cinnamus, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, 137–145; Choniates, *O City of Byzantium*, 102–110; Buck, "Between Byzantium and Jerusalem," 107–108.

72 Buck, "Between Byzantium and Jerusalem," 109.

Correspondence between John and Innocent during this period demonstrates how papal-imperial relations had worsened since 1138. In the aftermath of the 1137 expedition Innocent had sent John letters suggesting further possibilities for closer union between the Latin and Greek Churches. He stressed the necessity for a union of spiritual and temporal powers, doubtless as he envisioned under the leadership of a pope of the reform movement. John's replies were courteous, but lacked the interest contributing to this ecumenical dialogue he had expressed as late as 1136.⁷³ The Emperor devoted the second of these replies to explaining his concept of temporal and spiritual powers, as ideally wielded by himself and the pope respectively and symbolized by two swords as harmonious yet distinct.⁷⁴ The use of this analogy, uncommon in Byzantine political theory, which was generally more sympathetic to Caesaro-papism than the West, provides a fascinating insight into John's understanding of how he understood the papacy's perception of his campaign against crusader states.

These letters outline the growing recognition of the incompatibility of Latin and Byzantine approaches to papal authority revealed by the clash at Antioch. Perhaps Innocent did not intend John to see his letter to the Latin mercenaries or did not know that the emperor was aware of its contents. Otherwise it would seem surprising that he would propose further ecumenical discussions so soon after he had described John using such inflammatory language. Possibly he used these letters to try and explain his response to John's campaign. They certainly reveal the changing approach to papal authority of the twelfth century reform papacy, which increasingly eschewed the imagery of the two swords and emphasized the unification of all Christians under papal leadership. The Cistercians, who dominated the higher echelons of the Latin Church during this period generally favored the partnership rather than the separation of papacy and empire.⁷⁵ In the 1140s, both Bernard of Clairvaux and Eugenius III (1145–1153) wrote to Conrad in glowing terms describing the union of Church and Empire under the direction of the papacy.⁷⁶ This understanding of papal authority would certainly justify Innocent's decision to assume the prerogative of determining the ruler of Antioch.

73 Theiner and Miklosich, *Monumenta spectantia*, 1–6; Rowe, "The Papacy and the Greeks," 121.

74 Theiner and Miklosich, *Monumenta spectantia*, 4–6; Hussey, *The Orthodox Church and the Byzantine Empire*, 171; Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 341.

75 Jonathan Phillips, "Papacy, Empire and the Second Crusade," in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. Jonathan Phillips and Martin Hoch (Manchester, 2001), 22.

76 S. Bernardi, *Opera ad fidem recensuerunt*, ed. Jean Leclercq (Rome, 1957), 8:134–136; Eugenius III, "Epistolae et privilegia," *PL* 180:1175–1176.

Although John's Byzantine background was in some ways more familiar with the union of sacred and secular powers, like many Byzantines during this period he seems to have consistently underestimated the expansion papal authority. Here, he used a Latin concept to demonstrate that while he was prepared to acknowledge many papal claims to spiritual sovereignty, he rejected the papacy's claims to interfere in what to him were more strictly political matters in the Levant. The public celebration of Ralph as patriarch of Antioch at the Second Lateran Council in 1139 would have infuriated the Byzantines and further convinced them that the papacy was subordinating spiritual probity to a political expediency.⁷⁷ Just as the Byzantines struggled to understand the spiritual motivations underpinning the First Crusade, John refused or failed to grasp how his Levantine campaigns threatened the spiritual authority of the papacy.

Byzantine concern about papal overreach in reaction to the Antioch campaigns contributed to their apprehensive and uncooperative approach to the Second Crusade. John would have hoped that his alliance with Conrad protected him from retaliatory crusades. In light of their efforts to remove the popes from passing judgement on their Antioch campaigns and prevent retaliation from the West, the Byzantines must have been concerned when they heard that Eugenius was assembling the most powerful crusading force in history in 1145, which included Conrad among its leaders. The Latins' expressed purpose to respond to the fall of Edessa, a city over which John had only recently demanded suzerainty, can have done little to allay these fears. The Byzantines would have concluded that this force would be used to punish the Byzantine Empire for attacking Antioch, and John's subsequent disinterest in furthering closer union, like Bohemond's expedition in 1106.⁷⁸ The Byzantines were also, as always, worried about the Normans, rival claimants to Antioch. They were concerned that the crusaders planned to unite with Roger in an attack on the Byzantine Empire, a fear only exacerbated by Roger's decision to launch an attack on Corfu and ravage the Peloponnese peninsula in 1147, while the Byzantines were distracted by the crusade's arrival. For Manuel, the crusaders a threat to the empire, and compared to the Normans, the Seljuks, and the Zengids, they were in some ways the most temporary and the least threatening.⁷⁹ Phillips argues that this mindset encouraged the Byzantines to obstruct

77 Paul Kehr, *Italia Pontificia* (Berlin, 1906), 1169; Hiestand, "The Papacy and the Second Crusade," 34; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 4.

78 Cinnamus, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, 59; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 170; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 133, 278; Rowe, "The Papacy and the Greeks," 116.

79 Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 172.

and even attack the crusaders outside Constantinople and on their march through Anatolia, contributing to the defeat of the expedition.⁸⁰ Many Latin Christians, like Innocent, would have blamed these seemingly petty conflicts on the Byzantines, who appeared to be confirming their reputation for treachery and weakness spread by Bohemond after the First Crusade and Innocent's recent condemnation of John would only have bolstered this impression.

Recent research has suggested that the evidence for anti-Greek sentiment in the West during this period is thinner than sometimes supposed.⁸¹ There is no evidence of Conrad expressing any bitterness towards the Byzantines and when he had the opportunity to blame them for his defeat he chose to blame the Latin Jerusalemites for the failure of the campaign instead.⁸² Rather, it is worth noting that when Conrad did return to Constantinople after the defeat of his forces in Anatolia in late 1147, Manuel and his court received him with every honor and continued to maintain the alliance between the empires first secured by John.⁸³ These amicable relations demonstrate that both Conrad and the Byzantines recognized the importance of their alliance against their common enemy, the Normans, but also when contrasted with Manuel's sometimes even threatening language towards Conrad, while he was still "on crusade," emphasize that the Byzantines saw crusading expeditions in particular as a threat to the empire.⁸⁴

Byzantine apprehensiveness was mirrored by Latin disenchantment. While Conrad maintained good relations with Manuel, many crusaders returned from the Second Crusade now so convinced that the Byzantines were enemies of Latin Christianity and the papacy, which they requested Eugenius call a crusade against Byzantium.⁸⁵ Louis VII (1120–1180), in particular, explicitly blamed

80 Cinnamus, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, 36; Choniates, *O City of Byzantium*, 38; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 173–175, 205–206.

81 Timothy Reuter, "The 'Non-Crusade' of 1149–1150," in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, eds. Jonathan Phillips and Martin Hoch (Manchester, 2001), 159; Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade and the Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1997), 318–324; ■ Please provide complete text part for footnote "81" (if any).

82 Conrad III, *Die Urkunden Konrads III., und seines Sohnes Heinrich*, ed. Friederich Hausmann, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomata*, (Vienna, 1969), 357; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 175, 181; Martin Hoch, "The Price of Failure: The Second Crusade as a Turning-point in the History of the Latin East?" in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. Jonathan Phillips and Martin Hoch (Manchester, 2001), 183.

83 PL 180:1251–1252; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 275; Rowe, "The Papacy and the Greeks," 123–124.

84 Cinnamus, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, 64–65.

85 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 659; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, 162; Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 128.

Manuel for his expedition's struggles.⁸⁶ This decline in relations is especially evident when comparing the actions of the papal legates on the first two crusades. During the First Crusade Adhemar of Le Puy had handled both the Byzantine court and the Eastern Christians of Antioch with great diplomacy and was an important source of comparatively cooperative working relations between the crusaders and the Byzantines. On this expedition, however, the papal legate to the French king and his crusaders, Godfrey of Langres was at the forefront of the faction who encouraged Louis to attack Constantinople.⁸⁷ While Eugenius never came close to sanctioning a crusade against Byzantium, that such a campaign was now thinkable is unquestionable, certainly factions among both Byzantines and Latins would even have seen it as imminent.⁸⁸ This distrust and suspicion came to characterize relations between the crusading movement and the Byzantine Empire in subsequent decades and no future crusades would attempt to coordinate with Byzantium at least from the outset.⁸⁹

4 Conclusion

The papacy saw the success of the First Crusade, summoned by Urban II as divine validation of the eleventh and twelfth century reform programs that sought to place all Christians under the leadership of the papacy. The crusader principalities of Outremer were therefore especially representative of this victory and under the special protection of the papacy. The First Crusade was also inspired by the idea of bringing aid to the Byzantine Empire. Urban's successors continued to seek closer union with Eastern Christians as part of this extension of papal influence. This effort coincided with that of the Comneni emperors to prepare the way for the restoration Byzantine territories in Syria,

86 Suger, "Epistolae" in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Martin Bouquet et al., 24 vols. (Paris, 1737–1904), 15:496; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 210.

87 John of Salisbury, *The "Historia Pontificalis" of John of Salisbury*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1986), 24, 54–55; Robinson, *The Papacy*, 360–361; Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 81–82, 86, 126.

88 *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable, Harvard Historical Studies, 78, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1967), 1:395, 2:206–207; Giles Constable, "The Crusading Project of 1150," in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer* ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith, and Rudolf Hiestand (Brookfield, VT, 1997), 67; Wilhelm Bernhardt, *Konrad III, Jahrbucher der deutschen Geschichte* (Berlin, 1975), 811–819; Reuter, "The 'Non-Crusade' of 1149–50," 151–153.

89 Eudes of Deuil, *La croisade de Louis VII*, ed. Henri Waquet (Paris, 1949), 35–48; Hussey, *The Orthodox Church and the Byzantine Empire*, 182; Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, 124–127.

which they saw as consistent with the purpose of the crusades to strengthen the Byzantine Empire. Relations between the papacy and the Byzantine Empire therefore improved in the immediate aftermath of the First Crusade, but from different understandings of what the crusade had accomplished, which when employed to their fullest extent were incompatible. Both parties realized this incompatibility in 1138 when John for the first time tried to exert traditional Byzantine political and ecclesiastical authority over the crusader principality of Antioch, and Innocent for the first time had the freedom to pursue a reform agenda of independent papal government. Innocent described John in terms which Gregory VII might have used to refer to Henry IV and John's response was to eliminate the papacy from his plans for Byzantine expansion. The Byzantines saw the Second Crusade as a force raised to punish them for their campaign against Antioch in 1142 and were correspondingly uncooperative, while the crusaders, already suspicious of the Byzantines, became increasingly frustrated over the course of the crusade and the relationship between these two parties deteriorated still further. Thus Innocent's letter to John's mercenaries in 1138 and John's reaction demonstrated the underlying incompatibility of the papal and Byzantine agendas of the early twelfth century, while contributing to further serious mutual disillusionment.

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Muslims in the “*Gesta Family*”: Understanding of Muslim Religious Identity and the Use of Accounts of Violence to Depict Muslims as “Other” in the *Gesta Francorum* and Its Derivatives

Yan Bourke

Although they undoubtedly drew on knowledge that existed in Western Europe, the authors of histories the First Crusade lacked an authoritative source on Islam.¹ As Bernard Hamilton and B.Z. Kedar have argued, although there was information available in both written and oral forms, there was not sufficient interest for anyone to attempt to coordinate the knowledge.² As such, in trying to give more complete depictions of Muslims, authors of crusade accounts were for the most part free to create images of their own. They did this both to explain the enemy to their audience and in part, as will be argued, to justify the crusade itself. They tended not to be influenced by writing from areas of Europe in contact with Muslims (Guibert of Nogent represents a puzzling exception to this tendency, as discussed below).³ The diversity of views about Muslims in the medieval west has recently begun to receive more

- 1 The author wishes to acknowledge the indispensable support of the Irish Research Council, which provided funding for attending the International Symposium on Crusades Studies and continues to fund the research project of which some results are presented here. Thanks are also due to Professor I.S. Robinson, Dr. Sparky Booker, Dr. Léan Ní Chléirigh and Lynn Kilgallon for their generous help in reading drafts of this article. Any mistakes remain the author's.
- 2 Bernard Hamilton, “Knowing the Enemy: Western Understanding of Islam at the Time of the Crusades” in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 7, no.3 (1997): 373; B.Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission* (Princeton, 1984), 35.
- 3 Another possible exception has been identified by Marcus Bull, who noticed similarities in the treatment of pilgrims by Muslims in pre-Crusade miracle stories from Spain and in several accounts of Pope Urban II's sermon at Clermont. He suggests that if these latter accounts can be taken to accurately represent the pope's appeal to the faithful, it may well be that Urban was appealing to their imaginations, but to already-existing preconceptions which he hoped they would apply to the East. Marcus Bull, “Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c. 1000–1200: Reflections on the Study of First Crusaders' Motivations,” in *The Experience of Crusading*, ed. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley, vol. 1: *Western Approaches* (Cambridge, 2003), 37.

recognition, but there is still more to uncover within crusade sources in particular. The authors of the two seminal texts on the subject of European perceptions of Islam in the Middle Ages, Norman Daniel and R.W. Southern, have surprisingly little to say about crusade histories.⁴ Writing more recently, John Tolan has more to say about crusade narratives, but focuses mostly on why Muslims were depicted as pagans (discussed below) and, separately, Guibert of Nogent's account as an example of a tradition of understanding Islam as heresy.⁵ All three also tended to take particular texts as exemplary, obscuring variation between authors. There have been many valuable articles on more specific aspects of the depiction of Muslims in the years since Daniel and Southern wrote, but no detailed examination of the differences between the images of Islam created by different authors of crusade accounts. Recently, David R. Blanks and Jo Anne Hoepfner Moran Cruz have argued that premodern perceptions of Islam were more varied and complex than has generally been held: Blanks in a survey of the historiography and Moran Cruz in an article on attitudes to Islam in the *Chansons de Geste* and other vernacular texts.⁶ The lack of an authoritative source on which to base their depiction of Muslims allowed considerable variation to appear between authors of crusade sources. This is the case even in the closely related "Gesta family": the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolymitanorum* and the revised versions of the text. Although they all used the *Gesta* as a source, it rapidly becomes clear that the revisers did not consider it an authority on Muslims. Their versions of Islam demonstrate that even within such a closely-related group, there could be considerable variation.

The anonymous *Gesta Francorum* is by now almost universally accepted as the earliest surviving account of the First Crusade, completed soon after the end of the crusade in 1099. It was taken up and revised by a number of authors of crusade accounts in the first decade of the twelfth century; this group of texts makes up the so-called "Gesta family." For all the work that has been done,

4 R.W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1962); Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1993).

5 John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002); see also John V. Tolan, "Muslims as Idolaters in Chronicles of the First Crusade," in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (London, 1999), 97–117.

6 David R. Blanks, "Western Views of Islam in the Premodern Period: A Brief History of Past Approaches," in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (London, 1999), 11–54; Joe Ann Hoepfner Moran Cruz, "Popular Attitudes towards Islam in Medieval Europe," in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (London, 1999), 55–82.

there is still a need for a great deal more work on the relationship between the *Gesta* and its revisions. This paper elucidates these relationships with specific reference to each text's representation of Muslims. So far my findings suggest that intensifying, adding detail to, or completely changing the *Gesta Francorum's* treatment of Muslims was an important part of what its revisers set out to do—even though they did not specifically acknowledge this.

This paper will discuss two aspects of the treatment of Muslims in the *Gesta* family in detail. First, the authors' understanding of Muslim religious identity will be discussed. This varied considerably: the *Gesta* ascribed a vague form of polytheism to them (though not, as will be discussed, paganism in the Classical Roman sense, despite the author's use of the term *pagani*). Baldric of Bourgueil, meanwhile, does seem to have borrowed from classical sources, although only up to a point. Robert the Monk and Peter Tudebode differed in the details of their conception of Islam, but not as much as Guibert of Nogent, whose concept of Islam as heresy has been relatively well discussed. Guibert's account has often been discussed in the context of other writings on Islam as a heresy or other travesties of the life of Mohammed, and his work also belongs in this context. However, by dealing with him alongside these other recorders of the crusade, closely linked by their source, light is shed on other aspects of Guibert's work and he in turn sheds light on theirs. All of these different conceptions had the effect of marking Muslims as inherently and irrevocably outside of and opposed to Christianity.

Second, this paper will address the different ways violence was used by the authors to establish the "otherness" of Muslims and justify the crusade. This is particularly true of Robert the Monk, whose extensive changes suggest that the revision of the *Gesta's* treatment of Muslims was one of his central concerns. He reframed the crusade in terms of an act of vengeance against the Muslims wrought by God through the crusaders, reminiscent of the Old Testament. Other authors engaged in a great deal of intensification of the violence in the *Gesta*, reaffirming its message that Muslims were savage and violent and, as such, the justified recipients of savage violence in turn. These two sections will focus in particular on the work of Baldric of Bourgueil and Robert the Monk, respectively, as important elements of their depiction of Muslims have never been recognised in full.

1 The Sources

The *Gesta Francorum* is the earliest surviving account of the First Crusade. It was a highly influential source, used by other eyewitness chroniclers of the

crusade, later twelfth century historians, and by three Northern French revisers in the early twelfth century, who explicitly set out to improve what they saw as the inadequate literary style of the *Gesta*. Five of these texts are sometimes referred to as the “*Gesta* family”: the *Gesta* itself, Peter Tudebode’s very closely-related eyewitness account, and the three early twelfth century revisions. The *Gesta* was completed by an eyewitness before 1101 and probably soon after the end of the crusade in 1099. The author tells us almost nothing about himself directly, but it is plain from the content of the work that he was a southern Italian Norman and, initially at least, a follower of Bohemond of Taranto, the leader of that contingent of crusaders. He displays knowledge of obscure Italian Norman crusaders and makes mistakes with the names of some of the most prominent of the Northern French.⁷

The French priest Peter Tudebode’s *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* is essentially the closest revision of the *Gesta*, though he was also an eyewitness. Relatively little is known about Tudebode, but internal evidence in the text at least gives us his name, including a toponym—*Sivracensis*—believed to refer to the town of Civray, near Poitiers. Tudebode was a priest who was himself present on the crusade, and contributed some important information which is not found in the *Gesta Francorum* or in Raymond of Aguilers, to whose work he also had access. His narrative covers exactly the same period as the *Gesta Francorum*, so it is difficult to assign an exact date to it, but the authenticity of the information unique to his work does suggest a date of composition not long after the end of the crusade.⁸ Tudebode’s version generally tends to elaborate the *Gesta*’s prose and adds a number of details and longer passages, at least some of which were from his own experience. Many of these concern Muslims, and Tudebode alters and exaggerates the image of Islam presented by the *Gesta*. Although the modern consensus is that the *Gesta* was the original and Tudebode’s version the copy, the exact relationship between the two remains unsettled. A recently discovered manuscript, bearing the title *Peregrinatio Antiochie ad Urbanum Papam Facta*, and displaying linguistic features and content in common with both the *Gesta* and Tudebode, has complicated the question.⁹

7 Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962), xi–xii.

8 John France, “The Anonymous ‘*Gesta Francorum*’ and the ‘*Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*’ of Raymond of Aguilers and the ‘*Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*’ of Peter Tudebode: An Analysis of the Textual Relationship between Primary Sources for the First Crusades,” in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), 43.

9 The text appears in ff. 48r–90v of the MS known as St Catherine’s College, Cambridge, 3, with the above title in a rubric. The text was identified as a *Gesta Francorum* manuscript by M.R.

According to Marcus Bull it is probably an intermediate form, which in itself is a complication of the *Gesta*-Tudebode relationship, but Samu Niskanen, who is preparing an edition of the manuscript, argues that it might actually be the original from which the *Gesta* author and Tudebode both copied.¹⁰ The completion of Niskanen's edition and Bull's forthcoming new edition of the *Gesta Francorum* will hopefully settle this question. Regardless of the exact nature of the relationship between the *Gesta* and Tudebode, their differing treatment of Muslims illuminates each author's intention for their work.

The *Gesta*'s simple Latin style was given as the main reason for the necessity of more extensive revisions by three apparently independent Northern French writers in the first decade of the twelfth century: Guibert of Nogent, Robert the Monk, and Baldric of Bourgueil. In fact, as well as "improving" its style, these revisers made much more extensive changes to the *Gesta*, adding a great deal of material, making some important omissions and, in particular, refining the *Gesta*'s theological message.¹¹ As will now be argued, they also made significant changes to the *Gesta*'s treatment of Muslims.

Guibert, abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy, completed his revision of the *Gesta*, which he renamed the *Dei Gesta Per Francos*, by 1109. Born to a noble family in Picardy, both his class and his local sympathies are evident throughout the text.¹² Guibert was an extremely erudite scholar, and his revision was written in a self-consciously convoluted style. This may have resulted in it receiving less attention than it deserves—even among contemporaries it seems to have been unpopular.¹³ As with the others, he only claimed to have improved the *Gesta*'s rhetoric. However, he added to certain sections extensively: the first book of the *Dei Gesta per Francos*, the end of the fourth book and the major part of the seventh and last book are entirely original. In addition, Guibert

James in a 1925 catalogue of the St Catherine's collection, but it has recently been recognised as "something subtly but significantly different": Marcus Bull, "The Relationship between the 'Gesta Francorum' and Peter Tudebode's 'Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere': The Evidence of a Hitherto Unexamined Manuscript (St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, 3)," *Crusades* 11 (2012): 5.

- 10 Bull, "The Relationship between the 'Gesta Francorum' and Peter Tudebode's 'Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere,'" 8; Samu Niskanen, "The Origins of the 'Gesta Francorum' and Two Related Texts: Their Textual and Literary Character," *Sacris Erudiri* 51 (2012): 292. See also, more recently, Jesse Keskiahio, "On the Transmission of Peter Tudebode's *De Hierosolymitano Itinere* and Related Chronicles, With a Critical Edition of *Descriptio Sanctorum Locorum Hierusalem*," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 10 (2015): 69–102.
- 11 Jonathan Riley-Smith discusses this theological refinement at length in *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 2nd ed. (London, 2009).
- 12 Guibert of Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis* 127a (Turnhout, 1996), 12.
- 13 Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks: Gesta Dei per Francos*, trans. Robert Levine (Woodbridge, 1997), 3.

inserted a large number of additions throughout the narrative, many based on oral information provided by returning crusaders. The expository material which comprises the first book in particular radically differentiates his interpretation of Islam from that of the *Gesta* and its other revisers.

Apparently far more popular was Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, of which there are over eighty extant copies and records of more since lost or destroyed.¹⁴ Previously given a date of c.1108, Kempf and Bull argue that the basis for this is flawed and that what evidence there is points to a slightly later date of completion of c.1110—though it may have been begun earlier and completed slowly.¹⁵ Robert tells us himself that he was a monk writing in a cell connected to the important abbey of Saint-Rémi in Reims. Beyond that his identity is disputed: there was a deposed Abbot Robert of Saint-Rémi who spent some of his remaining career as prior of Sénuc, a dependency of Saint-Rémi, but the identification of our Robert as this abbot is by no means certain. Kempf and Bull defend the possibility in their new edition of the *Historia*, but they concede that Robert having been an otherwise anonymous monk of Saint-Rémi is the “simpler and neater” solution.¹⁶ The other detail Robert gives us about himself was that as an eyewitness to the council of Clermont, he was commissioned to add an account of the council to the *Gesta*, and to improve its style.¹⁷ These are the only changes he acknowledged making, and modern scholarship has tended to consider him too close to the *Gesta* to be useful. With a new edition recently published, his importance may soon be recognised, and in fact, I have found that the changes he made were far more extensive than he acknowledged. Many of the changes relate to the depiction of Muslims, but it may also be that Robert's value for other subjects is worth reconsidering.

14 Damien Kempf and Marcus Bull, eds., *The “Historia Iherosolimitana” of Robert the Monk* (Woodbridge, 2013), x–xi. It should be noted, however, that Kempf and Bull caution against reading too much into the abundance of manuscripts of Robert's *Historia*. Most copies of the *Historia* “were the result of a scribe reproducing the text of the narrative of the First Crusade available to him,” not of judgment about the relative merits of competing texts (emphasis theirs). Once its dissemination reached a certain level, it would have achieved a self-sustaining position as the default text, and that initial level may have been reached merely by chance.

15 Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, xxxiv–xl.

16 Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, xix–xxiv. Kempf and Bull also suggest the possibility that the Abbot “B” who commissioned Robert was none other than Baldric of Bourgueil. Baldric was one of the few senior churchmen to defend Abbot Robert, so there does seem to have been a relationship, but they offer no explanation for why Baldric also wrote his own account. This is an especially problematic point in light of the fact that if they and Stephen Biddlecombe are correct in their respective dating, Robert finished his account some three to five years after Baldric.

17 Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 3.

According to his most recent editor, Baldric wrote his *Historia Ierosolimitana* as early as 1105–6, while he was still abbot of Bourgueil. Subsequently promoted to Archbishop of Dol in 1107 (and consequently referred to as both Baldric of Dol and Baldric of Bourgueil in the secondary literature), he made some later changes to the text, but the bulk of the *Historia* was completed before 1107. This dating is derived from Baldric's own statement that he was nearly sixty (*pene sexagenariam*) when he began writing the *Historia*.¹⁸ One could extend the date range of the text forward and back by questioning how long Baldric took to complete his work or whether “almost sixty” meant exactly fifty-nine or slightly younger, but assuming the information we have about his year of birth (1046) is accurate, a date of completion of 1105–6 is reasonable.¹⁹ Evidence in the text and the manuscript tradition points to a two-stage process of composition, at Bourgueil and subsequently at Dol, though the “Dol recension” completed after 1107 has only minor changes.²⁰ One of the most important findings of Biddlecombe's new edition of Baldric's *Historia* is that there were many more manuscripts of Baldric's *Historia* extant in the Middle Ages than had been thought, suggesting his account was more popular than previously believed.²¹ Baldric has perhaps been the most neglected of the *Gesta* family up to this point, but as with Robert, the availability of a modern edition will hopefully attract more attention to him. The distinctive ideas about Muslims which he displays, discussed below, may well be indicative of a more unique and valuable perspective on a number of subjects relating to the crusades and the intellectual world of the twelfth century than has previously been recognised.

2 What Were Muslims Thought to Believe? The Evidence of the *Gesta* Family

The *Gesta Francorum* used a mix of terminology to describe Muslims, from “national” terms like *Turci* and *Saraceni* to Old Testament terms like *nationes* and *gentiles*. One of the most common of the *Gesta*'s terms for Muslims was

18 Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 3.

19 Stephen Biddlecombe, ed., *The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil* (Woodbridge, 2014), xxiv.

20 Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, xxvi–xxvii.

21 The edition in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* made use of only seven, suggesting that Baldric's was not a widely-read account. For a number of years it has been suspected that Baldric's text was more popular than this; Biddlecombe has confirmed this by bringing the total number of known copies and fragments of the *Historia* up to twenty-four. Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ix.

pagani (almost always in the plural).²² It is difficult, however, to determine whether this indicated a belief that Muslims were literally a kind of pagan or whether it was the author's term for non-Christians in general. The author presented a very vague depiction of Islam as a religion, but one feature is striking: he was apparently convinced of Muslim polytheism. He repeatedly depicted Muslim characters in passages of direct speech invoking or swearing to their gods. For example, in the lament the author attributed to the defeated Muslim commander al-Afdal in the aftermath of the battle at Ascalon, the final event depicted, al-Afdal invokes the "spirits of the gods," and swears by Mohammed and the glory of all the gods that he will never raise another army.²³ The *Gesta* also included a passage—adopted by all the other texts considered here—in which the crusaders despoiled some Muslim graves, finding the bodies buried with cloaks and coins in a very Roman manner, as well as with weapons.²⁴ That this is an accurate report of the burials seems unlikely; the author was probably making whatever was found (possibly as a result of hasty burial) conform to a framework he understood.²⁵ So far, his use of *pagani* as a term for Muslims seems to imply that he really did think they were pagans in the literal sense—except for his knowledge of the name of Mohammed.

The *Gesta* mentioned Mohammed twice.²⁶ It has been assumed in some of the secondary literature that the author believed that Mohammed was simply one of the gods of the Muslims, presumably the only one whose name he knew.²⁷ This is the case with other authors, but comparison with Peter Tudebode's account shows that this may well be an inaccurate reading of the *Gesta*. Mohammed's name appears in the construction "Mohammed and the names/

22 Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 20, 49, 53, 55, 77, 82–85, 89, 95. Léan Ni Chléirigh has a detailed discussion of the *Gesta*'s terminology for Muslims in her doctoral dissertation, "The Crusaders and their Enemies: The Latin Terminology of Group Identity in Chronicles of the First Crusade" (PhD diss., Trinity College Dublin, 2010).

23 "O deorum spiritus, quis unquam uidit uel audiuit talia? ... Iuro per Machumet et per omnia deorum numina, quod ulterius non retinebo milites conuentione aliqua, quia expulsus sum a gente aduena." Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 96–97. See also 52, 53.

24 "...sepelierunt ad machumariam quae est ultra pontem ante portam urbis, simulque illis consepelierunt pallia, bisanteos aureos, arcus, saggitas, et alia plurima instrumenta, quae nominare nequimus." Ibid., 42.

25 However, Nicholas Morton has recently suggested with some plausibility that it is possible grave goods really were found at Antioch, due to the conversion of the Seljuk Turks to Islam not yet being fully complete: Nicholas Morton, "The Saljuk Turks' Conversion to Islam: The Crusading Sources," *Al-Masaq* 27, no.2 (2015): 109–118.

26 "Amodo iuro uobis per Machomet et per omnia deorum nomina..." *Gesta Francorum*, 52; "Iuro per Machumet et per omnia deorum numina..." Ibid., 96.

27 Dana Carleton Munro, "The Western Attitude toward Islam during the Period of the Crusades," *Speculum* 6, no.3 (1931): 332; Tolan, "Muslims as Pagan Idolaters," 99.

glory of all the gods.” This is perhaps somewhat ambiguous, but it contrasts quite sharply with the clarity of Tudebode’s phrasing in his account of an incident not found in the *Gesta*: the martyrdom of Rainald Porchet. Rainald was captured during the crusaders’ siege of Antioch in 1098 and kept prisoner within the city. The emir Yaghi Siyan attempted to convert him to Islam. He offered him gold, horses and wives if Rainald would deny his God and accept Mohammed and the other Muslim Gods. The phrasing here is crucial: “*Mal-phumet et nostris aliis diis*”—“Mohammed and our *other* gods.”²⁸ Tudebode clearly thought of Mohammed as one of the gods of the Muslims. This throws the *Gesta*’s phrasing into sharp relief; the anonymous author never explicitly states this. Although it is possible that Tudebode’s version was a clarification of what the *Gesta* author meant, there is nothing in the *Gesta* itself to directly suggest that the author believed Mohammed was a god. Unfortunately, there is also no indication of who the author *did* think Mohammed was, only that he was an important enough figure to be mentioned alongside the gods.

The reasons for the *Gesta*’s use of *pagani*—and that of the many other authors who followed suit—have been the subject of discussion in the secondary literature. In Rosalind Hill’s view the *Gesta* author, whom she believed to be a knight with limited education, was simply uncertain about theological distinctions.²⁹ This is a problematic explanation for two reasons: first and foremost it cannot explain why so many more erudite authors followed the *Gesta*’s lead, and secondly the question of whether the *Gesta* author was a layman or a cleric has not been settled. Either way several recent historians have argued that in other respects, his narrative demonstrates considerably more sophistication than Hill recognised.³⁰ Norman Housley suggested Muslims were associated with Roman pagans confronted by the early church: he argued that because this was the easiest model to apply, it was adhered to “in

28 Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux, 4 vols. (Paris, 1866), III.51. Cf. Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum* 52, 96, as quoted above. Rainald, naturally, refused this offer and was martyred.

29 Rosalind Hill, “The Christian View of the Muslims at the Time of the First Crusade,” in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. P.M. Holt (Warminster, 1977), 4.

30 See Hans Oehler, “Studien zu den *Gesta Francorum*” in *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, vol. 6 (1970), 58–97; Colin Morris, “The *Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History,” *Reading Medieval Studies* 19 (1993): 55–71; Conor Kostick, “A Further Discussion on the Authorship of the *Gesta Francorum*,” *Reading Medieval Studies* 35 (2009): 1–14. Morris and Oehler argue that the *Gesta* author was too sophisticated to be a knight; Kostick accepts his relative sophistication but argues that he may still have been a knight, albeit one who had received some clerical training before being recalled to secular life, like the father of Peter Abelard.

blatant disregard of evidence to the contrary.”³¹ This rests on his belief that the crusades were a fundamentally “Eurocentric” venture—primarily concerned with the personal salvation of the crusaders—in which the enemy was “marginalised.” Although, as he put it, “somebody must be guilty of polluting the holy places,” for most crusaders “forming an *imago inimici* or *Feindbild*, was not for them a significant preoccupation. They were happy to live with imprecision and contradictions.”³² A similar argument was advanced by Nicholas Morton.³³ This is similar to Hill’s view of the *Gesta*’s use of pagans, but without casting so many aspersions on the anonymous author’s level of education. The image of Islam presented in the *Gesta* and its revisions is not always coherent. Nevertheless, their lack of knowledge or interest in Islam should not be overstated: they certainly made room in their narratives for details about Muslims that they considered significant. In particular, as will be seen, it is difficult to apply Housley’s interpretation to Guibert of Nogent or Baldric of Bourgueil. To an extent, however, Housley’s analysis may help explain the sometimes contradictory elements in the crusade historians’ depictions of Islam; they were after all primarily interested in glorifying the crusaders, not informing their readers about the nature of Islam.

Tolan saw the use of the term *paganus* as part of a tendency to present the crusader victories as part of the age-old struggle with paganism, a part of the culmination of events leading to the eradication of paganism and the Second Coming.³⁴ This was, he argues, how the chroniclers made sense of the events of the crusade. Tolan does make a convincing case for some of the eschatological elements present in the sources, and this easy way of contextualising the crusades may well account for the longevity of the assumption of Muslim paganism in other texts. But the depiction of Muslims in the *Gesta Francorum* is shallow, and consequently so too are any connections to paganism bar polytheism and the use of the term. As will be seen, with the exception of Baldric of Bourgueil, the connections do not become much stronger in the accounts of the *Gesta*’s revisers, and even in Baldric’s case there are ambiguities to this connection. Subsequently, Tolan turns to explaining how the depiction of Muslims as pagans helped justify the crusade. It is undoubtedly the case that the depiction of Muslims as polytheists, with stronger or weaker connections to the persecutors of the early church, helped create an image of them as hostile and “other,” and hence justified the violent seizure of the Holy Land from

31 Norman Housley, “The Crusades and Islam,” *Medieval Encounters* 13, no.2 (2007): 197.

32 Ibid., 196.

33 Nicholas Morton, *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 2016), 270–273.

34 Tolan, “Muslims as Idolaters in Chronicles of the First Crusade,” 98, 100; *Saracens*, 109–120.

them. However, Tolan does not claim that it was a deliberate distortion, rather he is essentially making the same assumption as Housley: Muslims were assumed to be the same as the pagans faced by the early church as a convenient explanation for who they were. The designation was rooted in ignorance or lack of interest in an accurate portrayal. But the picture is more complicated: this does not account for the thought that they did give to what Muslims were; the pieces of accurate information which they managed to accrue; or, most importantly, with relation to the *Gesta* Family, the very fact that each reviser of the original text went out of his way to alter its depiction of Muslims to something he must have felt was more accurate, or that suited his views or narrative aims better.

Common to all these arguments is the assumption that the *Gesta* author was—or, in Hill's case, that he should have been—adhering to a strict definition of *pagani*. However, Léan Ní Chléirigh suggests in her doctoral thesis that the *Gesta* author simply intended *pagani*—and most of the other terms he used to refer to Muslims—to be a generic term for non-Christians.³⁵ This seems to be the best explanation as it does not presume deliberate distortion or ignorance on the part of the *Gesta* author and it can allow for his limited knowledge of the reality of Islam. It is supported by the *Gesta*'s inclusion of Paulicians (*Publicani*) in its lists of pagans. Though Paulician heretical sects had enjoyed protection from the Byzantine church among Muslims and it is thus not implausible that they did fight alongside them as the *Gesta* describes, the author makes no distinction between them and the *pagani*.³⁶ This, too, suggests that the term had a generic meaning to the author, if not that he simply was not interested in theological distinctions.

That it might have been considered valid by twelfth-century authors to use *pagani* generically to mean non-Christians is supported by Guibert of Nogent's usage. Guibert was an extremely erudite scholar, and not only was his work a self-consciously literary improvement of the *Gesta Francorum*'s inadequate Latin, but he displayed a particular concern with accurate terminology. He made it clear in his introduction that he was aware of what he thought (wrongly) were the origins of some of the *Gesta*'s terminology, but said he would use the new terms for clarity:

35 Ní Chléirigh, "The Crusaders and their Enemies," 66–67.

36 "Innumerabili gentem paganorum, uidelicet Turcorum, Saracenorum, Arabum, Publicanorum. (Innumerable races of pagans, namely Turks, Saracens, Arabs, Paulicians...)" Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 83. See also 20, 77. The identification of *Publicani* as Paulicians is made by Hill in her translation and is defended in detail by Ní Chléirigh, "The Crusaders and their Enemies," 58.

...the names of men, provinces, and cities presented me with considerable difficulties. I knew some of the familiar ones were written down incorrectly by this author, and I do not doubt that in recording foreign, and therefore less known, names, errors were also made. For example we inveigh every day against the Turks, and we call Khorasan by its new name; when the old word has been forgotten and has almost disappeared no use of ancient sources, even if they were available, has been made: I have chosen to use no word unless it were in common use. Had I used Parthians instead of Turks, as some have suggested, Caucasus and not Khorasan, in the pursuit of authenticity, I might have been misunderstood and laid myself open to the attacks of those who argue about the proper names of provinces.³⁷

Nevertheless, he was satisfied to adopt the *Gesta's* use of the term *pagani* without comment.³⁸ But this was no simple error as with his confusion of Turks and Parthians. He had a much more fully-worked out idea of what Muslims were, and that was definitively not “pagans” in the ancient Roman sense or that of the modern Slavs on the frontiers of Christendom. His introduction included an account of the life of Mohammed and the foundation of Islam, in which he characterises the religion as a licentious parody of Christianity and its founder as the tool of a bitter, satanically-inspired Christian exile. In his account, a hermit with heterodox views is prevented from becoming Patriarch of Alexandria.

37 “Porro de nominibus hominum, provinciarum et urbium multa michi est difficultas ingenita: dum enim quaedam, quorum atigerim notionem, male ab illo auctore expressa cognosco, remota quaelibet eoque magis incognita eadem pravitate enuntiata non dubito. Verbi gratia, Turcos cotidiano increpitamus stripitu, Corozaniam quiddam novi nominis vocitamus, ubi, vocabulorum vetustas quoniam pene prorsus oblitterata delituit, antiquitate omni, etiam si ad integrum patuisset, amota nichil nisi quod publice cantitatur dicere libuit: si enim Parthos, ut aliqui sentiunt, non Turcos, Caucasum, non Corozaniam, ponerem, quasi sectando autentica obscurus fierem meque illis, qui de propriis regionum nominibus certant, carpendum exponerem.” Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 82–83; idem, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. Robert Levine, 26. Guibert’s conviction that the Turks were the Parthians going by a new name may be rooted in a belief that the peoples of the Earth consisted of exactly 72 nations descended from the sons of Noah. See Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* IX.ii.2: “Now, of the nations into which the earth is divided, fifteen are from Jopheth, thirty-one from Ham, and twenty-seven from Shem, which adds up to seventy-three—or rather, as a proper accounting shows, seventy-two.” Isidore notes at IX.II.38 that “[a]fterwards many of [the names of these nations] were changed, others remain as they were.” *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge, 2006; reprinted 2011), 192, 194.

38 See for example Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 94, 254, 279, 280.

The hermit, “torn apart by bitter grief ... like Arius ... began to think carefully how to take vengeance by spreading the poison of false belief...”³⁹ He was approached by the devil who advised him to seek out a young man: Mohammed. The hermit arranges an advantageous marriage to a wealthy widow for Mohammed, explaining away the latter’s epileptic fits as visions from God. The hermit fills Mohammed “with profane teaching drawn by the devil’s piping,” and spreads his reputation as a prophet.⁴⁰ Mohammed goes on to win followers through faking miracles and by preaching a lax doctrine in which every kind of sexual excess forbidden to Christians is permitted. Eventually, he dies an ignominious death when he suffers an epileptic fit and is eaten by pigs.⁴¹

On some points, Guibert’s account of Muslim doctrine is little more than a direct inversion of Christian practice; indeed Sini Kangas has pointed out that the entire account has the character of a reverse hagiography, with tricks and a humiliating death standing in for miracles and martyrdom.⁴² However, distorted as it is, Kangas notes that real Muslim tradition is just about discernible. One of Mohammed’s earliest converts was a Christian hermit named Bahira, his first wife was a wealthy widow, and his consumption by pigs is explicitly given by Guibert as the explanation for Muslims’ belief that he ascended bodily to heaven (and their eschewing pork).⁴³ Guibert’s is one version of a tradition that comes up in a few other near-contemporary Western European

39 “Contemptus igitur cum mesticia dilaveratur atroci, quoniam non potuit ad id quod ambiebat assurgere, ad Arianismum similitudinem meditari secum anxie cepit, quomodo effuso quod conceperat perfidiae veneno ad sui ultionem catholica passim posset documenta pervertere ... Hac antiquus hostis apud heremitam suum oportunitate provisa, his miserandum dictis aggreditur: ‘Si,’ inquit, ‘vis evidens repulsae tuae solatium et multo maius, quam patriarcha valeres, habere magisterium, inter eos qui ad te proxime venient nota diligenter iuvenem tali veste, tali vultus et corporis habitudine, tali etiam nomine...’” Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 95; idem, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. Robert Levine, 33.

40 “Interea per hereticum heremitam ad prophana dogmata homo ille diaboli fistula imbuebatur ipsius quaquaversum preeunte preconio propheta ab universis creditor...” Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 97; idem, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. Robert Levine, 34.

41 “...accidit semel, dum solus obambulat, ut morbo elisus eodem caderet et inventus dum ipsa passione torquetur a porcis in tantum discerpitur, ut nullae eius preter talos reliquiae invenirentur.” Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 99; idem, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. Robert Levine, 35.

42 Sini Kangas, “*Inimicus Dei et Sanctae Christianitatis?* Saracens and their Prophet in twelfth-century crusade propaganda and western travesties of Muhammad’s life,” in *The Crusades and the Near East*, ed. Conor Kostick (Abingdon, 2011), 142.

43 Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 100; Kangas, “*Inimicus Dei et Sanctae Christianitatis?*” 150–151.

sources identified by Kangas. Kangas does not explore in detail the connections and distinctions between the sources she discusses with a view to establishing what, if any, interrelationship there may have been between them. There is not sufficient space to do this here, suffice it to say that Guibert shares various elements with them but his account is distinct—especially from Embrico of Mainz, the only account believed to precede his. Some of the ideas in these accounts can ultimately be traced back to much earlier eastern Christian responses to Islam, but they all combine elements from more than one such source, and indeed go further in their depictions.⁴⁴ Guibert himself claimed to have been unable to find any written sources about Islam. Rather he was recording what he had heard spoken in public: he stated that his information was derived from “popular opinion (*plebeia opinio*)” and what “I have heard told in public by some skilful speakers.”⁴⁵ Unfortunately, it is not clear what Guibert is referring to here—sermons, epic poetry, or other forms of public speech? It might also be the case that he wished to avoid arousing any suspicion of undue interest in heterodox ideas and so suppressed a written source he possessed and affected some measure of nonchalance. However, no plausible candidates for a written source have been found, so this ultimately would not shed any more light on the problem. His claim that his source was oral is the only suggestion for which there is any evidence, though it unavoidably leaves a larger mystery (who was saying this, in what context, and when did it enter oral culture?) which may never be entirely solved. Engels suggests returning crusaders (who, by implication, must have learned what they knew from eastern Christians) as Guibert’s source. As Embrico of Mainz demonstrates, however, similar stories were already circulating in the West before the crusade.⁴⁶ In any

44 Nicholas Morton provides a summary of these: John of Damascus, writing in the Eighth Century, was the first to suggest Mohammed was influenced by an Arian monk; the tradition that Mohammed was epileptic is found in the *Chronographia* of Theophanes the Confessor (d. 818); the tradition of the trained cow can be found in the Syriac *Legend of Sergius Bahira*, and although it is unclear where the story of Mohammed’s consumption by pigs originated, it may derive from Iberian tradition. Morton, *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade*, 212–213. In Tolan’s analysis, the later sources tended to go further towards making Mohammed conform to the heresiarch typology and to make him a “vivid scoundrel.” John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002), 138–139. For another useful survey of western travesties of the life of Mohammed, see Peter Engels, “Das Bild des Propheten Mohammed in abendländischen Schriften des Mittelalters,” in *Die Kreuzzüge*, ed. H.-J. Kotzur (Mainz am Rhein, 2004), 246–263.

45 “Cuius mores vitamque cum nusquam scripta didicerim, quae a quibusdam disertioribus dici vulgo audierim nulli debet esse mirum si dicere velim.” Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 94; idem, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. Robert Levine, 32.

46 Engels, “Das Bild des Propheten Mohammed,” 254.

case, whether Guibert's source was oral or written, it seems to have made no impact on any other contemporary crusade writers.

Norman Daniel wrote of Adam of Lille that he "generally preferred to use the term *pagan*, but this does not imply that he meant *idolator* to be understood; in fact, it is clear from the body of the text that that is not the case. Credulous of unattractive and unconvincing legends of the life and death of the Prophet, his choice of terms may be a mere expression of dislike."⁴⁷ He could also have been describing Guibert of Nogent here. But Guibert was self-consciously precise in his terminology (or at least tried to be); if he intended "pagan" to be an expression of dislike then he nonetheless must surely have considered it one which satisfactorily expressed the depiction of Muslims he wished to create. It is therefore likely that he considered *paganus* a suitable generic term for non-Christians in general, even monotheists. Although they were very different authors, it is plausible that the *Gesta* author could also have used the word in this sense.

However, it seems that this opinion was not universally shared. Robert the Monk remained convinced of Muslim polytheism, referring to plural Muslim gods in passages of direct speech attributed to both Muslims and Christians. The translator Herluin's message to Kerbogha on behalf of the crusade leaders included a reference to "your infernal gods (*infernales dii tui*),"⁴⁸ for example, and Kerbogha's mother pleaded with her son "in the names of all our divinities (*per omnia nostrorum numinum nomina*)," and attributed her knowledge that the crusaders would be victorious to "the responses of the oracles of our divine powers (*numinum nostrorum responsa*)."⁴⁹ Robert also wrote of Muslims worshipping using ornate shrines and images, possibly intending to suggest they worshipped them as idols. On his defeat at Ascalon, the Fatimid Vizier al-Afdal lamented: "O Mahommed, Mahommed, who has ever invested more in the magnificence of your worship with shrines ornate with gold and silver, decorated with beautiful images (*imaginibus*) of you...?"⁵⁰ It is not absolutely clear from his terminology that he means idols here, rather than simply pictures similar to icons of saints—thus setting up a misguided mirror of the entirely legitimate Christian ways of showing devotion to saints—but it is likely. Ralph of Caen, who wrote a slightly later account of the First Crusade, is noted for

47 Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 214.

48 Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 70.

49 Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 62–63.

50 "O Mathome, Mathome, quis unquam venustiori te cultu colitur, in delubris auro argentoque insignitis, pulchrisque de te imaginibus decorates..." Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 107.

claiming an elaborate idol of Mohammed was found in the Temple of Solomon when Jerusalem was stormed. One of the words he used for this idol was also *imago*.⁵¹ This idea was not uncommon: the more fanciful *Chansons de Geste* often featured Muslim idols, and so too did other historians of the crusade. As discussed below, Baldric of Bourgueil also referred to *simulacra* installed in the Temple, a less ambiguous term for idols.⁵²

Nevertheless, Robert almost completely avoided calling Muslims *pagani*, swapping it for another term in almost every passage he absorbed from the *Gesta*. He does refer to Muslims as *pagani* twice, but these seem very likely to have been accidental. Shortly before the crusaders reached Antioch, both Robert and the *Gesta* reported, they encountered and defeated “Turks and Saracens” in a valley called Rugia, inspiring the local Armenian Christians to surrender to them. In Robert’s version, “they were delighted that the Christians had so bravely defeated and killed the Turks and pagans, and immediately surrendered themselves and their land to them.”⁵³ In the corresponding sentence in the *Gesta*, only pagans were mentioned. It is likely that Robert had intended to replace *paganos* with a second mention of *Turci et Sarraceni*, but wrote *Turci et pagani* in error.⁵⁴ Robert referred to Muslims as *pagani* only one other time. In Robert’s description of the vision of Stephen Valentine at Antioch, at a very low point in the fortunes of the crusade, Christ appears and says, among other things:

I allowed them to suffer all those tribulations and difficulties because they have committed many sins with Christian women—and pagan women—which found grave displeasure in my eyes.⁵⁵

51 “Stabat in excelso simulacrum fusile throno/ ... / Hoc ubi Tancredus prospectat: ‘Proh pudor!’ inquit, / ‘quid sibi uult presens, quae stat sublimis, imago...?’” Ralph of Caen, *Tancredus*, ed. Edoardo D’Angelo, CCCM 231 (Turnhout, 2011), 107. The work is a mixture of prose and verse; this incident takes place within one of the longest sections of verse.

52 “Sed quid templum Salomonis immo Domini pretermisimus, in quo simulacra sua barbare nationes contra ius et fas modo collocata uenerantur?” Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 7.

53 “Quod videntes Armenii, terre illius habitatores, gavisi sunt, quia videlicet a Christianis tam viriliter Turci et pagani superati sunt et occisi; continuoque cum terra sua reddiderunt se illis.” Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*. 33.

54 “Videntes hoc Hermenii habitatores terrae illius, illum fortiter superasse paganos, continuo reddiderunt se.” Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 26–27.

55 “Omnes tribulationes et impedimenta quae passi sunt ideo evenire permisi, quoniam multa nefanda operati sunt cum Christianis mulieribus, et paganis, quae valde displicent in oculis meis.” Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 67.

The incident is taken directly from the *Gesta*, though with considerable rephrasing. It is less easy to argue that this was an accident, given that this was a passage Robert reworked considerably more than the other, but it is still possible—or he may have been less willing to change a word reported to have been spoken by Jesus. In any case, it is clear that he did not systematically use the term. Indeed if we accept that the other use *was* a slip of the pen, then even if intentional this would be the only occasion on which Robert used “*paganus*” to mean “Muslim.” In all other cases of direct borrowing from the *Gesta*, Robert replaced the term *paganus* with another term.⁵⁶

The one other occasion on which he used the term “pagan” was not to describe Muslims. In his version of the sermon at Clermont at which Pope Urban II issued the call to the crusade—a crucial episode he and his fellow revisers felt was missing from the *Gesta Francorum*—Urban urged his audience to be moved by “the worth and greatness of Charlemagne, his son Louis and your other kings who destroyed the pagan kingdoms and brought them within the bounds of Christendom.”⁵⁷ This use of the term in relation to Charlemagne’s wars against the Saxons shows that he did not think only Ancient Romans and Greeks could be accurately described as pagans. But apparently, in Robert’s view, Muslims were a different kind of enemy. The most obvious distinction he might have been thinking of is the figure of Mohammed. Mohammed, rather than the gods to which Robert also referred, was the subject of the possibly idolatrous worship he described. The name of Mohammed was clear to Robert from his source, and he displayed a more concrete idea of the Prophet’s identity than the *Gesta* author. On several occasions, Robert had Muslims refer to Mohammed as their *preceptor*, or teacher, in passages of direct speech. Robert referred to Mohammed as the *preceptor* of the Muslims who lamented the desecration of Muslim graves at Antioch (after the battle on 6 March 1098).⁵⁸

56 For examples, compare: Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 96 and Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 89; Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 89 and Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 82.

57 “Moveant vos et incitent animos vestros ad virilitatem gesta predecessorum vestrorum, probitas et magnitudo Karoli Magni regis, et Ludovici filii eius aliorumque regnum vestrorum, qui regna paganorum destruxerunt et in eis fines sanctae ecclesie dilataverunt.” Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 6.

58 Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 46; Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk’s History of the First Crusade*, 135. Sweetenham translated the word as “master” here. Lewis and Short give “a commander, ruler” as a possible post-classical translation of *preceptor*. If “temporal ruler” is what she meant by “master,” this is possible, but the alternate meaning of “a teacher, instructor” seems far more likely. Robert usually referred to the Emir of Babylon and the King of Persia as the Muslim’s temporal rulers (see 45, 47, 60, 103–104). “Spiritual master” would fit the context, but it is not a meaning which is supported by Lewis and

Mohammed was also the *preceptor* of Pirrus,⁵⁹ and al-Afdal addresses him as *preceptor noster et patrone*, “our teacher and protector.”⁶⁰ This suggests at least vague awareness of Mohammed’s identity as the Prophet and founder of Islam. Having some kind of knowledge of the distinctiveness of Muslims may have underpinned his reluctance to refer to them as *pagani*.

Finally, Baldric of Bourgueil offers yet another variation. He retained the use of *pagani* to refer to Muslims, and seems to have been more inclined to apply a classical pagan model.⁶¹ Of particular note, the *Gesta Francorum*’s two mentions of Mohammed are silently omitted from Baldric’s account, and no other hint of his name or identity is added elsewhere.⁶² This was the most striking indication that the *Gesta* author was not just adhering to a classical model of non-Christians, and correspondingly the omission brings Baldric’s depiction of Muslims considerably closer to that model. However, in the absence of any comment from him, it is impossible to be certain as to why Baldric chose to remove these mentions of Mohammed’s name. It may indeed have been a program of deliberate classicization. Given his low opinion of the *Gesta* author, however, Baldric may simply not have trusted his source. Not recognising the name from his own reading, Baldric may have assumed the anonymous author invented it.⁶³ Comparison with the *Gesta*’s other revisers is revealing in this respect: Tudebode thought Mohammed *was* one of the Muslims’ gods; Guibert had a relatively accurate, albeit highly distorted, idea of who the Prophet was; and Robert added some small measure of clarity to the *Gesta* by referring to Mohammed as the Muslims’ *preceptor*. All of the revisers who retained the

Short or Niermeyer, and translating the term as “teacher” means it is possible to be more specific about Mohammed’s role. J.E. Niermeyer and C. Van De Kieft, “Praeceptor,” in *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 2002), 1079; Charlton T. Lewis, “Praeceptor,” in *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1987; first published 1879), 1412.

59 Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana* *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 51. Sweetenham translates *preceptorem meum* as “my teacher” on this occasion. Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk’s History of the First Crusade*, 141.

60 Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 106. Sweetenham reverts to “master” this time. Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk’s History of the First Crusade*, 209.

61 For examples of pagans, see Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 4, 6, 68, 91–92, 97–99, 102, 117.

62 The *Gesta Francorum* included two instances of Muslims swearing to Mohammed, at pages 52 and 96. The corresponding passages in Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, omit Mohammed: “Iuro enim me nullatenus reuersurum, donec Siria et Romania in libertatem redacta, Apuliam quoque meo subdiderim dominio” (64), and omit any oath altogether, respectively: “Quicquid sit, unum erit, in eos denuo non erigar, sed potius ad patriam meam, ignominiosus donec uixerem, reuertat” (119).

63 For Baldric’s opinion on the *Gesta Francorum*, see Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 4.

name of Mohammed added more detail, suggesting they thought they had a clearer idea of who he was, derived from some knowledge external to the *Gesta*. Baldric may not have, and so may have quietly avoided the issue to avoid embarrassment. It is also possible that Baldric considered too much detail about non-Christians incompatible with the moral instruction which was one of the inherent aims of the genre of *historia*. Baldric may have omitted the Prophet's name for any or indeed a combination of these reasons.⁶⁴

In removing Mohammed from the account of his source, was Baldric deliberately trying to make Muslims conform more closely to a classical model? There are some indications that this may have been the case, but if so, he was not entirely thorough and systematic in his efforts. Notably, the first time he deliberately set out to say something about Muslims, Baldric referred to them using both *pagani* and the biblical term *gentiles* in the same sentence.⁶⁵ On one occasion, he even implied that Muslims worshipped a single god. This is not to say that Baldric understood or intended to accurately depict Muslim monotheism: he contradicted this implication elsewhere (see below), and even on this occasion what he described is not simple monotheism. In Baldric's version of the lament of al-Afdal at Ascalon, the defeated Emir mentions separate Christian and Muslim gods: "Either their God is omnipotent, and fights for them; or ours is angry with us, and with a bitter fury has greatly chastised and refuted us."⁶⁶ In this instance, Baldric seems to interpret their beliefs as a kind of partisan monotheism: they have their god and the Christians have their own.⁶⁷ Both biblical and classical knowledge may lie beneath this assertion; indeed it is very possible that both traditions were entirely compatible for Baldric, and both influenced him here. However, the model which most closely

64 Intriguingly, a line in Baldric's famous poem *Adelae Comitissae* is suspected by the poem's editor to be an allusion to Embricho of Mainz's *Vita Machometi*. However, the correspondence is not a strong one, and if Baldric did know this work, there is absolutely no indication in the *Historia*. The phrase *lucida signa poli* in *Adelae Comitissae* is compared to the phrase *lucida stella polum* in Embricho's *Vita*; both are poetic ways of referring to the sky. Baldric of Bourgueil, *Carmina* 134 *Adelae Comitissae*, ed. Jean-Yves Tilliette (Paris, 2002) 134.498, n. 183.

65 As noted above, Baldric claimed to have remained neutral between Christians and Muslims, lest "*paganis detrahendo Christianis mendax et mendosus temere faueam; et si quid fortiter et audacter gentiles egerunt, eorum fortitudini et audacie zelando aliquid decerpam.*" Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 4 (emphasis mine).

66 "Aut illorum Deus omnipotens est, et pro eis pugnat; aut noster nobis iratus est, et nos nimis austero furore redarguit, et castigat." Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 118.

67 As mentioned in the *Gesta Francorum* chapter, the anonymous author's conversation between Kerbogha and his mother may also indicate he thought Muslims believed this; see above, 2.2.2.

resembles what Baldric attributes to al-Afdal here is provided by the Old Testament, which at times speaks of the gods of the other tribes who are neighbours of the Children of Israel, such as Baal.⁶⁸

Baldric was not only an accomplished biblical scholar but also a distinguished classical scholar. It is also possible, then, that Baldric was thinking in classical rather than biblical terms here: that his al-Afdal believed in multiple gods, two of whom were the patron gods of the Muslims and Christians respectively, as Athena was for the ancient Athenians, for example. This does not fit his statement above quite as well as the model provided by 1 Kings, but a classical model may better fit a statement Baldric attributed to Kerbogha which contradicts the “partisan monotheism” he attributed to al-Afdal. Responding to the crusader claim that Antioch was rightfully Christian property due to its conversion by St. Peter, Kerbogha retorted that before Peter the land had belonged to his people, but by Christian deceit, the populace “was turned away from the worship of their gods, and it was seduced, having been deceived into your most foolish heresy.”⁶⁹ Kerbogha’s attitude strongly implies approval of the ancient inhabitants’ belief in their plural gods. In this instance Baldric’s intention to depict Muslims as polytheists is straightforward, and may have been more strongly influenced by some knowledge of the beliefs of the people in the region in the classical era. It is also evident from this passage that he was unaware of Islam’s relatively recent birth, and thought there was direct continuity between the beliefs of the *Turci* and *Sarraceni* and the beliefs of people in the region before Christ.

The classical and biblical models would have seemed entirely compatible to a twelfth-century intellectual like Baldric, as confirmed by Isidore of Seville’s treatment of the “gods of the gentiles” in his highly influential *Etymologiae*. Isidore discussed Baal and other Old Testament deities of the Children of Israel’s neighbours alongside the Roman pantheon without distinction, except to note by whom they had been worshipped.⁷⁰ If Kerbogha and al-Afdal’s statements should be reconciled by assuming that the latter believed in many gods, one of whom was his particular patron, a classical model seems likely. However, Baldric may not actually have intended these to be consistent, and given the closer fit between al-Afdal’s statement and the 1 Kings model it cannot

68 See, for example, 1 Kings 18:27.

69 “...a Deitatis sue cultura auertit, eosque in nugacissimam sectam uestram deceptos seduxit.” Baldric of Bourgueil, 78. Baldric was arguing that shared Christianity confers the right to the land on the otherwise foreign crusaders, but he allowed Kerbogha to make the counter-claim that the people of his ethnicity retained the right to it (evidently being unaware of the recent advent of the Seljuks), whatever their religion.

70 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, VIII.xi 1–104.

be definitively argued that Baldric was editing the *Gesta* to apply a more uniformly classical pagan model to his interpretation of Muslim theology. In other ways, however, Baldric does seem to have been influenced by a classical model.

Baldric claimed that Muslims worshipped idols, possibly influenced by his knowledge of Roman practices: "But what of the Temple of Solomon, to say nothing of that of the Lord, in which the barbarian nations venerate their idols, which they have placed there, in a manner against right and divine will?"⁷¹ Such an idol was also claimed to exist by Fulcher of Chartres and Ralph of Caen.⁷² While there may be some unresolved relationship between Fulcher of Chartres and Ralph of Caen that could explain their agreement, none has ever been suggested between Baldric and either of the other two authors.⁷³ This may be the result of Baldric and one or both of the other authors making the same classical reference: Flavius Josephus's *Antiquitates Judaicae* mentioned Caligula's failed attempt to install a statue of himself in the Temple, as part of a hard-line response to Jewish refusal to treat the emperor as a deity.⁷⁴ Both Baldric and Fulcher are known to have had access to at least one of Josephus's works.⁷⁵ Ralph is not, but it may be no coincidence that two of the three authors to mention an idol in the Temple had access to Josephus.⁷⁶ Unfortunately, there are no direct textual similarities, so firm conclusions cannot be drawn. The idol(s) may have been nothing more than a rumour which coincidentally

71 "Sed quid templum Salomonis immo Domini pretermisimus, in quo simulacra sua barbare nationes contra ius et fas modo collocata uenerantur?" Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 7.

72 Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), 290; Ralph of Caen, *Tancredus*, 107.

73 Hagenmeyer believed that Ralph and Fulcher may have both used each other's accounts at different times, but he only suggested that Fulcher may have used Ralph for the battle of Harran in early 1104. If there is a possibility that Ralph got his information about this idol from Fulcher, there is no suggestion that it might been the other way around. A thorough investigation of the possible links between Ralph and Fulcher is long overdue. For Hagenmeyer's suggestion, see Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 68. Harold S. Fink only considered the possibility that Ralph may have used Fulcher: Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095–1127*, trans. Frances Rita Ryan, ed. Harold S. Fink (Knoxville, 1969), 46. Ralph's most recent editor and translators do not discuss the question; see Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach (trans.), *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen: A History of the Normans on the First Crusade* (Farnham, 2005; reprinted 2010); Ralph of Caen, *Tancredus*, ed. Edoardo D'Angelo (Turnhout, 2011).

74 Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 18.55–7; 18.261.

75 Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 5 (identified by Biddlecombe as a reference to Josephus's *De bello Judaico* in the index of references on page 147); Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095–1127*, 44.

76 Ralph's most recent translators do note that possible use of Josephus by Ralph has yet to be thoroughly investigated, however. Bachrach and Bachrach (trans.), *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen*, 5.

resembled events mentioned by Josephus. If so, it was a remarkably widespread rumour: it must have reached Europe by the early twelfth century and survived for a considerable length of time in the Holy Land.

Baldric's depiction of Muslims thus leans closer to a classical model than the other authors under consideration here. This depiction extends to their worldview. Baldric attributed a sense that their civilisation was in decline to Muslims. The heroic, military age of their civilisation had passed, and in their decadence they would inevitably lose to the more warlike Christians. As Kerbogha's mother admonished him: "...you ought to have reflected how unaccustomed to fighting are the troops that you have gathered from all sides. For not to conceal the truth, our nation is golden, that one is iron. Yet ours is courageous enough, but less effective in the hand; it is much inexperienced and untried in these labours, because the old age of this nation grows apace in peace."⁷⁷ This corresponds to a broad theme of decline due to peace widespread in the writings of Roman historians, from Polybius to Livy.⁷⁸ The reference to "golden" and "iron" races also closely resembles the similar classical *topos* of the ages of man, in which the "golden age" declined into the "iron age."

Al-Afdal's concern that his god is either powerless against the Christians' god or has turned against him is also notable in the context of Baldric's efforts to depict a non-Christian worldview. Lack of confidence is a running theme. Where Baldric depicted Christians as certain of God's omnipotence and favour, he depicted Muslims as dealing with the uncertainty of multiple gods, of which theirs may not be the most powerful and may even have abandoned them.⁷⁹ Denied Christians' confidence in God's favour, in Baldric's account Muslims worried deeply about the vicissitudes of *fortuna*, like Romans. Shams ed-Daula, son of the ruler of Antioch defeated by the crusaders, is given an elaborate speech not present in the *Gesta*. He beseeched Kerbogha, the leader of a relief force sent by the Sultan of Baghdad, to help him as *fortuna* had turned against him:

77 "...opportuerat te perpendere quam insuete sunt preliandi quas undequaque corrogasti copie. Ut enim ueritatem nullatenus tacuerim, nostra gens aurea est, illa ferrea. Nostra tamen satis animosa est, sed manu minus efficax in experta et expertus est multum huiusce laboris, quoniam admodum effluit in pace senectus istius nationis." Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 64.

78 John Burrow, *A History of Histories: Epics, Chronicles, Romances and Inquiries from Herodotus to the Twentieth Century*, 2nd ed. (London, 2009). On Polybius, see 80–1; on Livy see 96–7.

79 For examples of Baldric's certainty that God assisted the crusaders, see Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 32, 38–39, 47, 53, 64 (attributing the assertion to Kerbogha's mother), 78, 81, 83, 98, 113.

Most invincible prince, struck by hostile fortuna I am compelled to approach you as a supplicant and to ask for help from Your Generous Munificence ... Think, in what circumstances I have fallen, and reflect upon the vicissitudes of worldly tribulation, which fortuna considers for me with her sideways glance...⁸⁰

Kerbogha's mother, in a version of a scene present in the *Gesta* and all of its revisers, admonishes her son for entrusting himself to *fortuna* in planning to attack the Christians: "It is however certainly dangerous for you to commit yourself to two-headed Fortune. It is doubtful on whose side Mars would rather smile."⁸¹ Kerbogha's mother displays even more pagan characteristics here: she refers to *Fortuna* in the way that a Roman poet would refer to the deity, not merely the abstract concept: *Anceps Fortuna*, two-headed fortune, conforms to the correct classical style of always referring to a goddess with one of her attributes. She also mentions Mars, possibly indicating belief in the Roman god of war. Baldric may also have intended to depict Muslims as having a deep concern for their *lares* and *penates*, the household deities of Ancient Rome, noting at one point that: "...they said that they were undistinguished ... unless those who have been inactive protect their sons and wives, and what remains of their *lares* and *penates*."⁸²

At first glance, Baldric thus seems to fit Housley's argument that authors of crusade sources defaulted to classical models better than the other revisers, although there is probably also Old Testament influence in his depiction of Muslim beliefs.⁸³ It is likely, however, that the references to Roman deities are simply to be read as metaphorical: Mars standing for victory in battle, *Fortuna* for luck, and *lares* and *penates* for valuable household items or the homes themselves. Baldric did use Mars in this sense in his poetry, and used *lares* and *penates* to refer to home in the preface to his Life of Robert of Arbrissel.⁸⁴

80 "Princeps inuictissime, inimica lesus fortuna, supplex ad te compellor accedere, et auxilium a liberali munificentia tua rogare ... Cogita, inquam, in quos deuenerim casus perpende mundane tribulacionis uicissitudines, que me modo fortuna obliquo respicit intuiti, michi nuper arridebat, et tunc patre optimo et ciuitate inclita gratulabar..." Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 61.

81 "...periculosum est certe ancipiti te committas fortune. Dubium est enim cui potius mars ariserit parti..." Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 64–65.

82 "...inglorios se esse dicebant ... nisi filios et uxores penatesque suos lariumque suorum residuam suppellectilem desides tutarentur." Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 60.

83 Housley, "The Crusades and Islam," 196–197.

84 Mars is mentioned several times in Baldric's poetry, in ways which Jean-Yves Tilliette translated as standing in for war or combat. See Baldric of Bourgueil, *Carmina*, ed. and trans. Jean-Yves Tilliette, 2 vols. (Paris, 2002), 8:146–150 (L28); 134:295–298, 397 (II.11, 14). In

His construction of their worldview—the sense of decline and obsession with *fortuna*—does point to a reliance on Roman pagans as a model, and such a model could also have influenced his interpretation of Muslim polytheism. But Housley's theory would also suggest this was because of the ease with which it could be applied, due to a lack of interest in depicting the enemy. Baldric went out of his way to add these details to the foundation he inherited from the *Gesta*. Rather than Muslims being an afterthought, this points to a particular interest in understanding the mindset of non-Christians—even if the mindset he attributed to them was undoubtedly influenced by classical models. It does, however, remain possible that he was depicting the mindset of Muslims in more distinctly classical terms as an intellectual exercise—displaying his erudition for the entertainment of educated readers, rather than acting from an honest desire to inform.

Common to all of these variations is an image of Muslims as completely beyond the boundaries of acceptable Christian belief. In attributing polytheism to Muslims and referring to them as pagans or as lawless amoral heretics, authors of First Crusade accounts emphasised their non-Christianity, and hence their “otherness.”

3 Violence

Violence by and against Muslims was also used by the authors of the *Gesta* family texts in ways which demonstrated their apartness. Violence by Muslims was used to depict them as savage and cruel, and it was used to justify (sometimes explicitly) the violence the crusaders committed against them. At the same time, the graphic depiction of extreme violence against Muslims by the crusaders also emphasised their otherness. The crusaders being the almost unimpeachable heroes of the narratives, this violence must then have been acceptable; Muslims were thus dehumanised by the very acceptability of the acts committed against them. Much of what the *Gesta* author claimed occurred was added to and intensified by Tudebode, Baldric and Guibert. Robert the Monk added to the violence too, but as will be argued in detail below he did so in strict accordance with a more fixed agenda: to frame the crusade as an expression of God's vengeance against Muslims for their persecution of Christians.

the dedicatory letter of his *Life of Robert of Arbrissel*, Baldric praises Petronilla of Chemillé for having left her *penates* and the *lares* of her father to enter religious life. Jacques Dalarun, et al., eds., *Les deux vies de Robert D'Arbrissel, fondateur de Fontevraud: légendes, écrits et témoignages* (Turnhout, 2006), 130.

From the very beginning, the *Gesta* included accounts of terrible violence perpetrated by Muslims. No sooner did the so-called “People’s Crusade,” the more loosely organised expedition led by Peter the Hermit and Walter Sansavoir, reach Asia Minor than they were attacked by local Turkish forces. According to the author,

...those who would not renounce God were killed; others, whom the Turks captured alive, were divided among their captors like sheep, some were put up as targets and shot with arrows, others sold and given away as if they were brute beasts.⁸⁵

Tudebode, Robert, Baldric and Guibert all adopted much of the substance of this passage, only changing the phrasing.⁸⁶ Later in the *Gesta*, Bohemond reprimands some fleeing crusaders:

If our enemies find you rushing all over the place they will kill you, for they are on watch day and night to catch you without a leader or alone, and they are always trying to kill you or lead you into captivity.⁸⁷

85 “Illi autem qui Deum negare noluerunt, capitalem sententiam susceperunt. Alios quos ceperunt vivos adinuicem diuiserunt quasi oues. Alios miserunt ad signum et sagittabant eos; alios uendebant et donabant quasi animalia.” Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 4.

86 Tudebode: “Illi autem Deum abnegare noluerunt capitalem sententiam susceperunt. Alios apprehenderunt Turci, et diuiserunt illos adinuicem, sicut aliquis dividit oues. Alios miserunt ad signum, et sagittabant eos, et alios vendebant et donabant sicuti animalia.” *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, 12.

Robert: “Igitur ex tota multitudine occiderunt Turci quos voluerunt, et quos libuit, uti placuit, captiuerunt. Quosdam ad signum positos sagittabant et omni ludibrio, prout eis placebat, servos Dei contumeliabant, et illi maluerunt sic gloriose occumbere quam, negantes fidem Dei, cum eis infelicitur vivere...” *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 11.

Baldric: “Illi uero qui fidei suae testimonium perhibuerunt, uel capitalem subiere sententiam; uel in signum positi, sagittati sunt; uel abinuicem diuisi, pro uili pretio uenundati sunt...” *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 15.

Guibert: “Captiui alios, data vivendi, immo morosius moriendi indulgentia, sed magis violentia, inter se dividunt, funesta sub cruentis dominis exhibituros seruitia, quosdam alicubi prostituentes quasi ad signum sagittis iaculantur, alii quasi pro donativo dabantur, alii vendebantur.” *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 126.

87 “Si autem inimici nostri inuenerint uos errantes, occident uos, quia die noctuque uigilant, ut uos sine ductore segregatos siue solos inueniant, uosque cotidie occidere et in captiuitate ducere laborant.” Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 33.

Muslims, in the *Gesta* author's view, were thus a relentless and constantly threatening enemy, always on the lookout for opportunities to harm the crusaders.

Some of the changes Tudebode made to the *Gesta* include new accounts of violence by Muslims, such as the martyrdom of Rainald Porchet mentioned above. When Rainald pointedly refused to convert, the ruler of Antioch had him beheaded and ordered all the other Christian captives in the city burned to death:

After hearing this report, the emir was extremely irritated and ordered the immediate beheading of Rainald, and so the Turks with great pleasure chopped off his head ... Then the emir, in a towering rage because he could not make Rainald turn apostate, at once ordered all the pilgrims in Antioch to be brought before him with their hands bound behind their backs ... he ordered them stripped stark naked, and as they stood in the nude he commanded that they be bound with ropes in a circle. He then had chaff, firewood and hay piled around them, and finally as enemies of God he ordered them put to the torch.⁸⁸

Guibert and Robert both added accounts of Muslim violence and cruelty in their versions of Urban II's sermon at Clermont. Guibert had Urban describe how the Muslims extorted tolls from pilgrims, even going so far as to cut open poor pilgrims in the mistaken belief that they had swallowed their money for safe-keeping:

...the governors of the gentiles commonly coerce with blows those who are slow to give gifts. What shall we say about those who have taken up the journey, trusting in their naked poverty...? ... the skin of their bones was probed, cut and stripped in search of anything they might have

88 "Quod audiens amiralius, nimis iratus fuit. Illico jussit eum decollari, et Turci cum magno gaudio decollaverunt ... Tunc amiralius fuit vehementer ideo quod Rainaldum ad suos non potuit convertere deos. Statim jussit ad se omnes peregrines adduci qui erant in civitati, ligatis post tergum manibus. Quumque ante cum cenissent, imperavit ut nudi expoliarentur omnes ... fecit eos stricte congregari in unum, et cum fune ligare omnes in gyrum. Et fecit sicea ligna et paleam et foenum circa eos ordinare, ac deinde, sicuti inimicus Dei, ignem jussit mittere. Christiani igitur, videlicet Christi milites, valde stridebant et clamabant, quorum voces resonabant ad coelum ad Deum pro cujus amore eorum carnes et ossa cremabant." Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, 52; idem, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, trans. J.H. and L.L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1974), 58.

sewed within ... they cut their bellies open with swords, opening their inner organs...⁸⁹

Robert was even more imaginative and graphic in the account of the behaviour of Muslims which he attributed to Urban, as discussed further below.⁹⁰

A notable feature of the *Gesta Francorum's* treatment of violence is that the graphic nature of the violence depicted becomes much more one-sided after its account of the fate of the People's Crusade. The author does include accounts in which Muslims are effective, including vivid descriptions of the frightening effect of Turkish battle tactics which made very effective use of the rhetorical colour "*similiter cadens*." On one such occasion, a Muslim attack on a group of Christians travelling from the port of St Symeon to Antioch, they "began to gnash their teeth and gabble and howl with very loud cries, wheeling round our men, throwing darts and shooting arrows, wounding and slaughtering them most brutally."⁹¹ But while, especially in Latin, this intense and rhythmic passage does convey the terror inflicted on the crusaders, it does not compare to the graphic nature of the accounts of violence against the People's Crusade, or the graphic violence against Muslims discussed below. Guibert also displays this tendency, and it is even more pronounced in Robert the Monk, both of whom also added more "historical" violence in the form of their versions of the sermon at Clermont but emphasised the crushing success of the "proper" crusaders.

Baldric made an explicit claim to neutrality between the Christians and the Muslims, lest in allowing his (entirely proper, in his view) prejudice to come to the fore, he diminish the achievements of the crusaders:

I will busy myself with advancing the truth with restraint; and my mind's favour, with which I nevertheless will be bound to Christianity, I will correct with truth's censure. If I dilute the strength of the gentiles, I will

89 "...gentilium perfecti consueverint verberibus truculenter urgere! Quid de his dicturi sumus qui, nichil prorsus habentes, nudae fiducia paupertatis, dum nil preter corpora videntur habere quod perdant, illud iter arripiunt? ... dum callos talorum ne forte quippiam ibi insuerint dissecando ac revellendo rimantu ... discissis ventribus intestinorum quorumque involucra distendentes quicquid habet natura secreti horribili concisione aperiunt." Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 116; idem, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. Robert Levine, 45.

90 Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 6.

91 "...coeperunt stridere et garrere ac clamare uehementissimo clamore, circumcingendo undique nostros, iaculando, sagittando, uulnerando, et crudeliter detruncando." Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 40. The sequence of verbs ending in *-ando* is an example of *similiter cadens*.

detract from the labours of the Christians, as if I had declared that our race fought against an unwarlike race.⁹²

Accordingly, he included significantly more explicit praise of their fighting prowess than the others, frequently adding comments such as that the Muslims “bravely opposed (*audacter opponere*)”⁹³ the Christians, or that the “courageous gentiles resisted the Christians not a little.”⁹⁴ However, even he tended to describe Christian violence against Muslims in far more graphic terms. One need only compare his version of the same attack on the Christians returning from St Symeon:

Behold the Christians returned from the port, bringing with them people not sufficiently armed nor very pugnacious: who were surrounded and encircled by the Saracens ... they attacked them, now with arrows, now with swords, now with lances, now with missiles; they killed them mercilessly, and shouted at them, gnashing teeth ... Those who were able either hid, fled or escaped alive; to others occurred a lethal fate, what grief, they lay dead.⁹⁵

with his account of the crusaders’ defeat of a sally by the Turkish defenders of Antioch a few pages earlier:

There was much crashing of weapons, and from the bronze helmets fire sent out glittering sparks. They inflicted wound upon wound, and a great deal of blood coloured the field purple. You could see intestines hanging out; and you could see both severed heads and dismembered bodies dying here and there. The Turks were therefore terrified by very great terror; and suddenly, their formations tottering, they committed themselves to

92 “Proferende siquidem ueritati temperanter studebo; et animi mei fauorem, quem tamen maxime Christianis debeo, ueritatis censura castigabo. Si enim gentilium robur plus iusto attenuarem, Christianorum fortitudini et laboribus detraherem, dum tanquam aduersus gentem imbellem genus nostrum hiato temerario dimicasse declamarem.” Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 4.

93 Ibid., 23.

94 “Non tamen gentiles minus animosiores Christianis resistebant...” Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 24. See also 48, 49, 91.

95 “Ecce a portu redibant Christiani, secum adducentes gentem nec satis armatam, nec multum pugnacem. Quos Sarraceni undique circumseptos et circumuentos ... Impetebant igitur eos nunc sagittis, nunc ensibus, nunc lanceis, nunc missilibus. Obstruncabant eos inmisericorditer, et clamitabant in eos dentibus stridentes ... Si qui potuerunt seu latitare, seu effugere, uiuentes euasere; alii letali sorte praeuerti, pro dolor, occubuerunt.” Ibid., 50.

flight. The Christians therefore followed them across the Iron Bridge, laying low, crushing underfoot, slaughtering.⁹⁶

The authors may well have had varying motives for this asymmetrical violence. The *Gesta*, Tudebode, and, despite his protestations, Baldric, may all simply have wished to glorify the crusaders, depicting their victories as more crushing than their defeats, having used events prior to the crusade to establish the savagery of Muslims. Guibert, having “corrected” the title of the *Gesta Francorum* to the *Gesta Dei per Francos*—the deeds of God enacted through the Franks—could hardly have done any less than depict God as more effective than His enemies. Alternatively, Susanna Throop found that the crusade was seen by the *Gesta* revisers as God’s vengeance against the Muslims, this could underlie their emphasis (this is certainly true of Robert, as will be argued below), though not that of the *Gesta* author and Peter Tudebode.⁹⁷

With the exception of the account of the martyrdom of Rainald Porchet, Tudebode similarly describes violence by Muslims less graphically after the events of the People’s Crusade. The overall balance remains similar, however, as he added a number of vivid accounts of violence against Muslims of his own, as shown below. Violence against Muslims in the *Gesta* was, as alluded to, often extreme. The *Gesta* author wrote that so much Muslim blood was shed outside Tripoli that “even the stream which flowed into the city ran red and stained the water in the citizens’ tanks”; and that during the massacre of Muslims who took shelter in the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, “there was such killing there that our men were wading up to their ankles in their blood.”⁹⁸ When the crusaders returned later to deal with survivors, “their blood flowed through the whole temple.”⁹⁹ This violence was frequently added to or intensified by the *Gesta*’s revisers.

Tudebode repeated and intensified many of these accounts (although, as Kedar noted, not the specific detail just mentioned—Tudebode’s account of

96 “Fragor armorum multus erat, et ab hereis casidibus ignis elucubratus scintillabat. Vulnera uulneribus illidebantur, et campi nimio sanguine purpurabantur. Intestina uideres dependentia; et uideres et cesa capita, et trunca corpora passim oppetentia. Exterriti sunt autem Turci pre timore nimio; et repente, cuneis eorum labantibus, fuge se commiserunt. Persecuti sunt ergo Christiani ultra Pontem Ferreum, sternendo, proterendo, mactando.” Ibid., 46.

97 Susanna Throop, *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance, 1095–1216* (Farnham, 2011).

98 “Ibique talis occisio fuit, ut nostri in sanguine illorum pedes usque ad cauillas mitterent.” Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 90–91.

99 “...etiam aqua quae in ciuitate fluebat, uideretur rubere et fluere in cisternas eorum...” *Gesta Francorum*, 85; “...sanguis illorum per totum templum fluere...” Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 91.

the massacre in Jerusalem was truncated and simplified).¹⁰⁰ One of the most vivid images in the *Historia* is one that Tudebode added to the *Gesta's* account of a knight named Peter of Roaix's advance expedition to Antioch. In the *Gesta*, he encountered and killed many Turks and Saracens; Tudebode added that "he sent a spear covered in the lips and noses of the Turks" to Raymond of Toulouse.¹⁰¹ Towards the end of the narrative, in an account unique to the *Historia*, Tudebode wrote of a Muslim spy captured near the siege engines being constructed outside of Antioch. Indulging in cruel irony, Tudebode reported that the spy admitted that he had been sent to find out how the machines work, allowing the Christians to provide a demonstration by binding him hand and foot and firing him at the city with a catapult. Tudebode revelled in the detail that the force of the flight caused the spy's bonds to snap, with the result that he failed to clear the walls of the city and was crushed.¹⁰² The final event of both the *Gesta Francorum* and Tudebode's *Historia*, the Battle of Ascalon, was intensified by Tudebode. He added that the Muslim soldiers whom the *Gesta* recorded had attempted to seek refuge up trees fell "like birds" when

100 Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, 108–110. See also B.Z. Kedar, "The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades," *Crusades* 3 (2004): 15–75.

101 "...invenit Turcos et Sarracenos, et praeliatus est cum eis, et occidit multos ex eis, et alios persecutus est valde. Misitque plenam hastam labiis et nasibus Turcorum Raimundo comiti." Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, 33. This is almost completely identical to the *Gesta's* version, up to the added second sentence: "...inuenit Turcos et Saracenos, et praeliatus est cum eis, et occidit multos ex eis, et alios persecutus est ualde." Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 26. John and Laurita Hill omit this from their translation of Tudebode which they based on their own edition of the text; it does not appear in all the manuscripts of Tudebode's *Historia*. Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, trans. J.H. and L.L. Hill, 41–42. That Peter would send lips and noses is striking and unusual—how exactly Tudebode supposed he might have attached lips to a spear is puzzling. More conventional is the punishment in Ezekiel 23.25: "And I will set my jealousy against thee, and they shall deal furiously with thee: they shall take away thy nose and thine ears, and thy remnant shall fall by the sword..." cf. the fate of the Patarene priest Liutprand in Bonizo of Sutri's *Liber ad Amicum*, ed. Philip Jaffé, Monumenta Gregoriana (Berlin, 1865), 663: "Sequenti vero die quendam sacerdotem nomine Liprandem auribus mutilaverunt et nasu."

102 "Quadam die miserunt Sarracenum quemdam ad videndum cujusmodi ingenia Christiani faciebant ... Quem Christiani apprehendentes, interrogaverunt per drogumundum, scilicet per interpretem, ad quid venerat. Qui respondens ait: 'Sarraceni me huc miserunt, volentes scire cujusmodi essent ingenia vestra.' Cui respondente Christiani dixerunt bonum esse, atque eum acceptum, ligatis manibus ac pedibus, posuerunt eum in funda cujusdam ingenii, quod petrera vocatur, atque cum omnibus viribus suis cogitantes eum projicere infra civitatem, nequiverunt. Nam cum tanto impetu venit, quod, ruptis vinculis, antequam ad murum pervenisset civitatis, dilaceratus est." Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, 107.

they were shot with arrows and stabbed with spears. Tudebode also added that once they were on the ground they were needlessly (*frustratim*) cut to pieces with swords.¹⁰³

Guibert too exaggerated accounts of violence against Muslims such as the massacre at Jerusalem. He intensified the *Gesta's* account of the amount of blood at the Temple of Solomon. At first, "a wave of blood almost covered the ankles of the advancing men."¹⁰⁴ The blood reached the same level on their legs, but the image of a "wave of blood" is considerably more graphic. When the crusaders returned, rather than just blood flowing on the floor, "they inflicted such slaughter on the wretches within the temple that the blood of the innumerable crowd of those who were killed nearly submerged their boots."¹⁰⁵ This passage was a popular site for changes. Baldric compressed it, skimming over the second massacre but combining and intensifying the *Gesta's* phrases: in his account, the people of the city fled to the Temple of Solomon where "no one knows the number of them who were killed, but their blood, which flowed through the temple, reached the calves of those going on foot."¹⁰⁶ Increasing the amount of blood in this passage was a convenient method of intensification, with the most extreme version being Robert the Monk's: "So much human blood was spilt there," Robert asserted,

that the bodies of the slain were revolving on the floor on a current of blood; arms and hands which had been cut off floated on the blood and found their way to other bodies so that nobody could work out which body the arm had come from which was attached to another headless body.¹⁰⁷

103 "Prae nimio timore ascendebant in arbores in quibus recondebant se. At nostri illos sagittando et cum lanceis occidendo more avium ex arboribus praecipitabant. Postea cum ensibus et aliis gladiis frustratim detruncabant." Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, 115. The *Gesta's* version simply states: "Pro nimio timore ascendebant in arbores, in quibus putabant se abscondere; at nostri sagittando et cum lanceis et ensibus occidendo eos ad terram precipitabant." Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 96.

104 "...tanta extitit humani cruoris effusio, ut procidentium prope talos irrigui sanguinis unda submergeret." Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 279.

105 "...tanta miseros intra fani ambitum cede dilacerant, ut cruores peremptorum sine numero calceorum pene oras excederent." Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 281; idem, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. Robert Levine, 131.

106 "Numerum eorum qui perempti sunt nemo nouit; sed sanguinis eorum, qui per templum defluebat, usque ad suras ambulancium attingebat..." Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 110.

107 "Tantum ibi humani sanguinis effusum est, quia cesorum corpora, unda sanguinis impellente, volvebantur per pavimentum, et brachia sive truncata manus super cruorem fluitabant et extraneo corpori iungebantur, ita ut nemo valeret discernere cuius erat corporis

This is in keeping with Robert's treatment of violence in general, as will be discussed in more detail below. It is also noteworthy, as Kedar showed, that while the *Gesta* author and Tudebode described only a partial massacre with some lives spared here, Baldric and Guibert upgraded this to a total massacre of all those present at the Temple (Robert, however, did not, which is unusual for him).¹⁰⁸

Robert's treatment of violence is integral to his previously unrecognised conception of the crusade as a whole. Robert used accounts of violence by and against Muslims in support of his vision of the crusade as divine vengeance enacted by God through the crusaders, to avenge the earlier mistreatment of Christians by Muslims. Susannah Throop has argued that the idea of the crusade as divine vengeance was shared by many crusade historians, Robert included, but she did not recognise the extent to which this idea permeated and shaped Robert's revision of the *Gesta Francorum* and its depiction of Muslims. Riley-Smith also noted that Robert saw the crusade as "an expression of God's anger and vengeance" against Muslims, but did not develop this theme further.¹⁰⁹ His vision of the crusade as vengeance was built into the very framing of the narrative. Robert added the beginning he, Guibert of Nogent and Baldric of Bourgueil all felt was missing from the *Gesta*: Urban II's sermon at the council of Clermont. Robert used the sermon to emphasize the appalling persecution of Christians of which he wished to establish that Muslims were guilty. All that followed was thus presented in the context of this persecution, described by Urban II himself at the very inception of the crusade. Robert's account ended with the luridly violent massacres of Muslims at Jerusalem and Ascalon, significantly intensified compared to the *Gesta*, and he added detail to passages describing many of the massacres that occurred along the way from Antioch to Jerusalem. But Robert's efforts to establish his vision of the crusade as divine vengeance went much deeper than this. His account was

brachium, quod truncato corpori erat adjunctum." Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 99; Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, 200–201.

108 See: Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 91; Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolimitano Itinere*, 109; Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 281; Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 110; Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 99; Kedar, "The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099," 24. On the massacre in general, in addition to Kedar's excellent analysis of the historiography of the incident, see also Thomas Madden's recent article questioning whether even the more conservative accounts of blood flowing up to the crusaders' ankles is actually physically possible. Thomas F. Madden, "Rivers of Blood: An Analysis of One Aspect of the Crusader Conquest of Jerusalem in 1099," *Revista Chilena de Estudios Medievales* 1 (2012): 25–37.

109 Throop, *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance*, 50–51, 55, 196; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 143.

saturated with biblical quotations and allusions in defence of his thesis, from quoting psalms about God's vengeance in Urban II's sermon itself to the extensive use he made of the battle of Ascalon falling on a Friday: just as God had defeated the Devil by suffering on the cross on Good Friday, so now he defeated the people of the Devil through His people, the crusaders.¹¹⁰

Robert greatly expanded and exaggerated many of the *Gesta's* accounts of violence against Muslims, but with the exception of his account of Clermont, he did not intensify descriptions of violence by Muslims. This may indicate an intention to present the victory of the Crusaders as more total and one-sided, but it also reinforces his conception of the crusade as vengeance. The atrocities of the Muslims are described at Clermont and in Robert's account of the fate of the People's Crusade, which he reproduces quite faithfully from the *Gesta*. In a sense, they form the prelude to the "real" crusade. From that point on, what was relevant was God's vengeance, and so Robert produced graphic and vivid accounts of violence against Muslims, sometimes explicitly justified by reference to their past behaviour.

In writing his account of Urban II's speech at Clermont, Robert seems to have drawn on a letter purporting to be from Alexius I Comnenus to Count Robert II of Flanders, appealing for his help against the Turks.¹¹¹ According to Robert, the pope said:

They throw down the altars after soiling them with their own filth; circumcise Christians, and pour the resulting blood either on the altars or into the baptismal vessels ... And what can I say about the appalling debauchery of women, which it is better to pass over in silence than to spell out in detail?¹¹²

The letter made much the same accusations, though it went into explicit detail about the rape of women (and men).¹¹³ Robert also added his own vividly gory details. He had Urban claim that:

¹¹⁰ Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 103–104.

¹¹¹ The letter was included with many of the manuscripts of Robert's *Historia*, but it also existed independently. It can be found in Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus dem Jahre 1088–1100* (Innsbruck, 1901), 130–136.

¹¹² "Altaria suis foeditatibus inquinata subvertunt, Christianos circumcidunt, cruorumque circumcisionis aut super altaria fundunt aut in vasis baptisterii immergunt ... Quid dicam de nefanda mulierum constupratione, de qua loqui deterius est quam silere?" Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 5.

¹¹³ Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, 130–136. Guibert of Nogent had access to the same letter, but this vague reference of Robert's is the only overlap in the sections they used; Guibert

When they feel like inflicting a truly painful death on some they pierce their navels, pull out the end of their intestines, tie them to a pole and whip them around it until, all their bowels pulled out, they fall lifeless to the ground. They shoot arrows at others tied to stakes; others again they attack having stretched out their necks, unsheathing their swords to see if they can manage to hack off their heads with one blow.¹¹⁴

In the same vein, he adopted the *Gesta Francorum's* account of the fate of the People's Crusade, in which a bishop was killed while celebrating mass and some of those captured alive were tied to posts and shot at—most likely where he got the idea for his previous mention of that activity.¹¹⁵ This, then, was the persecution of Christians which God sent the crusaders to avenge. Once he had established Muslim violence and barbarity, Robert wrote about violence by Muslims in far less detail.

Robert adopted some passages of violence against Muslims from the *Gesta* with little change; both described the shedding of so much blood into the river outside Tripoli that the water in the cisterns of the city was dyed red.¹¹⁶ He also intensified passages and added new ones of his own. He wrote of a battle outside Antioch at which so many Muslims died that “The piles of bodies in the river stopped the current and forced it to flow back the other way.”¹¹⁷ He added more detail to the *Gesta's* account of the massacre at Albara (September 1098), which simply stated that Raymond of St Gilles massacred the Muslims there. In Robert's version:

ignored the part about baptismal fonts and focused solely on the rape. He explicitly included a summary of the letter rather than including it in Urban 11's sermon at Clermont. Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 101–102. The letter was probably composed for use in Bohemond's propaganda campaign, and disseminated as an *excitatorium* for his expedition against the Byzantine Empire, explaining how both authors saw it. See Einar Joranson, “The Problem of the Spurious Letter of Emperor Alexius to the Count of Flanders,” *American Historical Review* 55 (1950): 811–832.

114 “Et quos eis placet turpi occubito multare, umbilicum eis perforant, caput vitaliorum abstrahunt, ad stipitem ligant et sic flagellando circumducunt, quoadusque, extractis visceribus, solo prostrati corrunt. Quosdam stipiti ligatos saggitant, quosdam extento collo et nudato gladio appetunt et utrum uno ictu truncare possint pertentant.” Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 5.

115 Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 11; Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 4.

116 “Tantum ibi humani sanguinis fusum est, quia aqua rubicunda facta est que in civitate fluebat, et eorum cisternas replebat.” Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 93; Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 85.

117 “Quippe densitas corporum fluminis impediēbat cursum, et retrogrado incessu ire cogebat retrorsum.” Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 45. The battle took place on 6 March 1098.

The count ordered that all should be put in chains, and those who refused to acknowledge Christ the Redeemer should be beheaded. So many heads were seen to fall; so many boys and girls were deprived of what should have been a long life. This was the judgment of God: the city had belonged to the Christians and had been taken from them with the same macabre behaviour.¹¹⁸

He also added a passage describing Godfrey of Bouillon's exploits in the storming of Jerusalem (where the *Gesta* only wrote that the crusaders broke into the city and there was a slaughter¹¹⁹):

Meanwhile Duke Godfrey had no desire for the citadel, the palace, gold, or silver or any kind of spoils. Instead at the head of his Franks he was desperate to make the enemy pay for the blood of the servants of God which had been spilt around Jerusalem, and wanted revenge for the insults they had heaped on the pilgrims.¹²⁰

It is striking in these latter two cases that Robert added comments explicitly justifying the violence against Muslims. This was how Robert established his concept of the Crusade as divine vengeance. Indeed, in beginning his history with the accounts of the violence perpetrated by Muslims against Christians which he attributed to Urban's speech at Clermont (echoed directly in his description of Godfrey's actions), he framed the entire crusade as justified by the behaviour of the Muslims.

Robert also made extensive use of biblical quotations in support of this argument about the nature of the crusade. This use of scripture to support and legitimise arguments about contemporary political questions was identified by Beryl Smalley, who coined the term "political allegory" to describe it.¹²¹ Robert frequently quoted passages from the Bible which referred to God avenging

118 "Precepit enim comes ut omnes vincula rentur et qui in Christum salvatorem credere nollent decollarentur. Illic visi sunt tot capite plecti, totque pueris cum puellis subtracta est vita longi temporis. Iudicium enim Domini fuit hoc quia Christianorum fuerat civitas illa eisque simili mortis ludibrio ablata." Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 82; Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 75.

119 Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 90–91.

120 "Dux vero Godefridus, non arcem, non aulam, non aurum, non argentum, non quelibet spolia ambiebat; sed cum Francigenis suis sanguinem servorum Dei, qui in circuitu Iherusalem effusus fuerat, ab eis vindicare satagebat; et irrisiones et contumelias quas peregrinis intulerant, ulcisci cupiebat." Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 99.

121 Beryl Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools: A Study of Intellectuals in Politics* (Oxford, 1973), 30–36.

Himself and His people, and passages which foretold the extent to which His people would be victorious. From the very first, Robert quoted passages which associated Muslims with the enemies of the Children of Israel in the Old Testament, often explicitly passages in which God avenged Himself on them. In the speech he attributed to Urban II at Clermont, Robert wrote that the Franks were those “to whom God has given ... the strength to humiliate the *hairy scalp* of those who resist you.”¹²² This was a reference to Psalms 67:22: “But God will wound the head of His enemies, the hairy scalp of the one who still goes on in his trespasses.” By reference to this passage, Robert was clearly associating Muslims with the barbarous enemies of the Children of Israel in the Bible. But it also has deeper significance: the verse is quite appropriate for Robert’s overall theological theme of God using the crusaders to avenge the mistreatment of Christians by Muslims. It comes immediately after Urban II enumerates the “trespasses” that the Persians are continuing—the graphic violence referred to above—and asks who better to avenge them (“*quibus igitur ad hoc ulciscendum*”) than the Franks.¹²³ Following the *Gesta*’s lead, Robert included a long passage in which Kerbogha’s mother pleaded with him not to attack the Christians, quoting from the Bible to prove to him that God will help the crusaders and that their victory has been foretold. The passage is obviously a fantasy, though the suggestion that Kerbogha’s mother fulfils a narrative role similar to that of Pontius Pilate’s wife helps to make sense of her scriptural knowledge. Pilate’s wife warned him against condemning Jesus in Matthew 27:19: there may be a precedent for Kerbogha’s mother here in the tradition of “an unlikely instrument extolling the word of God.”¹²⁴ However, Robert changed the Biblical passages which Kerbogha’s mother quoted to better suit his agenda. He had her warn Kerbogha of God’s power and His propensity to wreak revenge on his enemies, quoting Deuteronomy and referring to God’s defeat of Pharaoh, King Sihon of the Amorites, King Og of Bashan and the Kingdoms of Canaan.¹²⁵ God is on the side of the Christians, as he promises in Exodus 23:20–23.

122 “...pre ceteris gentibus contulit Deus insigne decus armorum, magnitudinem animorum, agilitatem corporum, virtutem humiliandi vericem capilli vobis resistentium.” Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 6.

123 Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 6.

124 Ní Chléirigh, “The Crusaders and their Enemies,” 71.

125 “...reddam ultionem hostibus meis, et his qui oderunt me retribuam. Inebriato sagittas meas sanguine, et gladius meus devorabit carnes / I will render vengeance to mine enemies, and will reward them that hate me. I will make mine arrows drunk with blood, and my sword shall devour flesh (Deuteronomy 32:40–1).” Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 61–62. Pharaoh is defeated in Exodus Chapter 14, Sihon in Numbers 21.21–9, and Og in Deuteronomy 29.7.

This, Kerbogha's mother says, "is the same God who is angry with our race because we have not listened to his words or done his will," and so He has sent the crusaders against them.¹²⁶ She quotes Psalm 106 and either Deuteronomy or the Book of Joshua to demonstrate that the crusaders' victory has been foretold: "from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south shall your coast be (Psalms 106:3). There shall be no man to stand before you (reminiscent of both Deuteronomy 11:24–25 and Joshua 1:4–5)." In Deuteronomy, God promises the Children of Israel that He will "drive out all these nations from before you," and that all the land from Lebanon to the Euphrates to the sea will be theirs; in Joshua He renews the promise after Moses' death. Psalm 106:3 indicates again just how extensive the victory of the Christians will be, how thoroughly God's vengeance will be enacted through them.

More oblique references may also have been used with the intention of signifying meaning to alert readers. Robert used the word *vindicare* on a few appropriate occasions, a term characteristic of Old Testament passages in which God wrought revenge on persecutors of the Children of Israel.¹²⁷ Robert first used the term to describe the capture of Antioch (2 June 1097); he wrote, "the Christians entered the city of Antioch, and delivered it (*vindicaverunt*) from its invaders at the point of the sword."¹²⁸ There is no direct parallel to this passage in the *Gesta*: the word choice was entirely his own. On the other occasion, Robert wrote of Godfrey of Bouillon's behaviour in the storming of Jerusalem: uninterested in plunder, Godfrey "was desperate to make the enemy pay [*ab eis vindicare*] for the blood of the servants of God which had been spilt around Jerusalem."¹²⁹

126 "Genti nostrae iratus est Deus ille, quia nec audimus vocem ejus, nec facimus voluntatem; et idcirco de remotis partibus Occidentis excitavit in nos gentem suam." Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 62.

127 Many examples, but see in particular: Deuteronomy 32.43: "Laudate gentes populum Eius quia sanguinem servorum suorum ulciscetur et vindictam retribuet in hostes eorum ... / Praise his people, ye nations, for he will revenge the blood of his servants: and will render vengeance to their enemies..."; Ezekiel 25.15: "Et dabo ultionem meam super Idumeam per manum populi mei Israhel et facient in Edom iuxta iram meam et furorem meum et scient vindictam meam dicit Dominus Deus / And I will lay my vengeance upon Edom by the hand of my people Israel: and they shall do in Edom according to my wrath, and my fury: and they shall know my vengeance, saith the Lord God"; and Ezekiel 25.17: "...et scient quia ego Dominus cum dederō vindictam meam super eos / ... and they shall know that I am the Lord, when I shall lay my vengeance upon them."

128 "Quarto nonas junii, Christiani in urbem Antiochie introierunt, et in ore gladii de suis eam invasoribus vindicaverunt." Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 56; Sweetenham, trans., *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, 147.

129 "Dux vero Godefridus, non arcem, non aulam, non aurum, non argentum, non quaelibet spolia ambiebat; sed cum Francigenis suis sanguinem servorum Dei, qui in circuitu Iherusalem effusus fuerat, ab eis vindicare satagebat; et irrationes et contumelias quas peregrinis intulerant, ulcisci cupiebat." Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 99.

This, too, was Robert's own wording. This choice of Old Testament language would have served to subtly reinforce Robert's overall conception of the crusade as God's vengeance for Muslim persecution of Christians wrought through the crusaders, reminding alert readers of the Biblical precedent for such events.

4 Conclusions

The *Gesta* family of First Crusade narratives is linked by their depictions of the inherent otherness of Muslims and the appropriateness of using violence against them. However, there are noticeable differences in their treatment of Islam—even in these very closely related accounts of the First Crusade and even in relation to the same two aspects of their depiction. The *Gesta Francorum* offered little detail about what Muslims believed; as far as can be determined the anonymous author thought only that they were polytheists and that a figure named Mohammed was important to them, but not necessarily one of their gods. Though he believed Muslims to be polytheists, in light of this lack of detail and his apparent knowledge of Mohammed—as well as Guibert's usage—it is likely that he only called them “pagans” as a generic term for all non-Christians. Muslims, in his view, were also both the perpetrators and the legitimate targets of extreme violence—though as he turned to narrating events after the failure of the People's Crusade and the arrival of the contingents of the princes, this violence became considerably more one-sided to highlight the victory of the crusaders. Tudebode stuck very closely to the *Gesta* in his narrative and terminology, but even in the small amount of material he added he managed to intensify the *Gesta's* passages of violence and made a small but significant change to his source's conception of what a Muslim was—he thought they believed Mohammed *was* a god. Guibert of Nogent was content to let a considerable amount of the content of the *Gesta* stand, though he changed the phrasing considerably. The more important changes he made with regards to the elements dealt with in this paper were in the additional material he added, especially his extended introduction in which he drastically altered the *Gesta's* concept of Islam. Among early First Crusade sources, Guibert stands alone in his knowledge that Muslims were not polytheists. His account of the foundation of Islam is distorted and defamatory, but—through some means of transmission that remains unfortunately obscure—rooted in actual Muslim tradition and sharing points in common with early Middle-Eastern Christian reactions to Islam. Guibert too intensified accounts of violence, and the one-sidedness of the violence after the People's Crusade is given new context by his changed title: how could the defeat of Muslims be any less than total when Guibert was narrating the deeds

of God through the Franks? Baldric of Bourgueil offered a unique conception of what Muslims were. At first glance it might appear that he did literally think of them as classical Roman pagans, due to his references to Roman gods and attribution of some elements of a classical worldview to them, as well as his dropping all mention of Mohammed. But his interpretation of their belief in a god or gods was ambiguous and possibly inconsistent. His references to Roman gods were probably metaphors, though it does seem that in attempting to depict the psychology of a non-Christian, he defaulted to his knowledge of the classics. His Muslims were pagan-like, then, but not exactly Roman pagans. Robert the Monk changed so much about the representation of Muslims that this must have been a central reason for his producing a revision, if not one that he acknowledged. He apparently objected to the *Gesta's* designation of Muslims as *pagani*; if Guibert demonstrates that a use of the term generically was valid, Robert shows that this definition was not universally accepted. He also added a small but crucial detail to the *Gesta's* idea of who Mohammed was. More importantly, he framed and justified the crusade as a means for God to avenge the persecution of Christians by Muslims. He consequently made his account more consistently hostile towards them, as is visible throughout his account, notably in the violent passages discussed here.

This deliberate revision of the *Gesta Francorum's* depiction of Muslims by these authors is so extensive that it must have been a conscious, though unacknowledged, motive for the revisers. This complicates the argument that Muslims were depicted as polytheistic pagans due to ignorance and that authors of crusade accounts were not interested in offering a correct version of Muslim beliefs. Although the authors of the *Gesta* family were not necessarily trying to depict Muslims entirely accurately, the changes they all made demonstrate that they did have some level of concern to "correct" the *Gesta*, whether factually or for reasons relating to their narrative purpose or conception of the crusade. There is no doubt, however, that even at this very early stage of the crusading encounter with Muslims there was already great diversity of thought among crusading historians in their depiction and understanding of Islam.

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Universal Monarchs: Crusading in the Life of St. Ignatius Loyola

Sam Zeno Conedera S.J.

The place of crusading in the life and thought of St. Ignatius of Loyola has been treated in a hesitant way. On the one hand, scholars have difficulty finding strong and direct connections; on the other hand, they are convinced that ambient crusading ideology, as well as his personal past as a knight and pilgrim to Jerusalem, did have an important influence on Ignatius and the order he founded. A fresh examination of the sources and recent scholarship is needed to appreciate the saint's resonance and dissonance with sixteenth-century crusading ideals. Crusading was not central to Ignatius's understanding of his own life and mission, but he defended it as necessary for protecting souls from apostasy, ensuring the security of Christendom, and maintaining the good name of his lord Charles v. His vision of a Catholic Europe united under the Pope and King Jesus stood in tension with the royal messianism of the Spanish Habsburgs, whose classical, Christian, and neo-Joachite self-image as world emperor answered more to their own dynastic interests. Ignatius' sober attitude towards the crusade, as well as the limited objectives he proposed for it, manifested an unwillingness to exalt the deeds of any earthly sovereign at the expense of Christ, the true universal monarch. At the same time, crusading and knightly ideals left their mark upon the Society of Jesus, although often in subtle ways.

Most scholars of Ignatius pass over his connection to crusading, and those who do explore the topic run into numerous problems.¹ The terminological

1 To take a few examples, Brodrick's biography is marked throughout by a romantic conception of Ignatius's chivalric background and its enduring influence, but crusading does not really enter the picture. James Brodrick, *St. Ignatius Loyola: The Pilgrim Years 1491–1538* (New York, 1956). Tellechea downplays the knightly theme and portrays Ignatius as gentle, even a kind of hippie *avant la lettre*. J. Ignacio Tellechea, *Ignatius of Loyola: The Pilgrim Saint*, trans. Cornelius Michael Buckley (Chicago, 1994), 282. The latest biography of Ignatius (and the first by a layman) gives no attention to crusading as such, and says both that his culture was entirely knightly and that he was born after the fall of the knightly ideal. Enrique García Hernán, *Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid, 2013), 33, 103. For studies of Ignatius and crusading, see Norman P. Tanner, "Medieval Crusade Decrees and Ignatius's Meditation on the Kingdom,"

and conceptual issues that have helped generate “the debate on the crusades” were still alive in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when there was still no single unanimous term for Christian holy wars.² There is no shortage of themes, ideas, and images in Ignatius’ works that resonate with “crusade spirituality,” but many of these can be found in the more general religious milieu of the Late Middle Ages. Thus Norman Tanner pointed out the striking parallels between the decrees of the Fourth and Fifth Lateran Councils and the “Kingdom meditation” of the *Spiritual Exercises*, but he admitted it was unlikely that Ignatius read those sources, and acknowledged that he could have encountered the same themes elsewhere.³ Hans Wolter believed that a study of contemporary crusade spirituality was essential to understanding the Society of Jesus. The key is not the mere presence of various crusade themes, he said, but their special interrelationship as an integral whole within the life of the order and its founder. Yet Wolter also acknowledged the difficulty of finding documentary support for his claims, which seems to render them dubious.⁴

1 Sources

The *Spiritual Exercises* contains numerous sets of rules, including one known as the “Rules for Thinking with the Church.” The original Castilian title reads “para el sentido verdadero que en la Iglesia militante debemos tener,” which might be translated as “for the true sense [or sentiment] that we should have in the Church militant.”⁵ The sixth rule lists things that Christians should praise (*alabar*): the veneration of saints’ relics, stations, pilgrimages, indulgences, pardons (*perdonanzas*), *cruzadas*, and candles lit in churches.⁶ In this

Heythrop Journal 31 (1990): 505–15; Hans Wolter, “Elements of Crusade Spirituality in St. Ignatius,” in *Ignatius of Loyola: His Personality and Spiritual Heritage, 1556–1956*, ed. Friedrich Wulf (St. Louis, 1977), 97–134.

2 Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Toronto, 1998), 54–55.

3 Tanner, “Medieval Crusade,” 505–15.

4 Wolter, “Elements,” 97–134.

5 Jesús Granero has discussed the meaning of *sentido verdadero*, insisting that it must also be understood as *sentimiento*, and therefore intensely spiritual. There is also the problem that Ignatius wrote *sentir en la Iglesia*, which was rendered as *con (cum) la Iglesia* in translation. Granero says it must mean both. Jesús María Granero, “Sentir con la Iglesia” y problemas modernos (Madrid, 1956), 52–54.

6 *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* (hereafter *MHSI*). *Monumenta Ignatiana. Exercitia spiritualia S. Ignatii de Loyola et eorum directoria*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1969) (hereafter *SpEx*), §358. Ignatius’s defense of these things should be seen in the context of Protestant iconoclasm and Catholic response to it. Carlos Eire narrates the frenzy of destruction of shrines, relics,

context, *cruzadas* refers to the preaching of crusade bulls rather than to military campaigns. The *bula de cruzada* was a fundraising mechanism that offered indulgences to the faithful in exchange for monetary support, a practice that generated criticism. Not only did Protestants reject the whole notion of indulgences and papally-sponsored holy wars, but the fact that both the papacy and the Castilian crown often siphoned off the proceeds for other purposes, and that the whole tax-farming mechanism was rife with corruption, generated resentment and satire.⁷ Recall, for example, Lazarillo de Tormes' period of employment with the *buldero*, or hawker of forged indulgences.⁸ In the sixth rule for thinking with the Church, Ignatius' aim was to defend certain teachings and practices that, while not absolutely essential to the Catholic faith, were nevertheless sanctioned by ecclesiastical authority and therefore worthy of respect. This passage was meant less as a defense of "crusading" as such (though it was implicitly that as well), but more of an exhortation to honor what the Church honored, even amidst various abuses.

A similar reference to *cruzadas* is found in the *Spiritual Exercises*' General Examen for preparing oneself for confession. When discussing what makes for sins in deed (*de obra*), Ignatius identified as sinful any action against the divine commandments, the precepts of the Church, or the recommendations of superiors. Under the last heading, he included any obligations arising from *bullas* [sic] *de cruzadas y otras indulgencias*. Once again, the concern was less with crusading as such than with the binding character of ecclesiastical authority. This interpretation is supported by the three early Latin translations of the *Exercises* included in the *MHSJ*. A cross-reference of the passages in question shows that only in one case does the Latin translation take care to emphasize that these were crusade bulls. This is the Vulgata version, which in the "Rules for Thinking with the Church" refers to "indulta pontificum pro infidelium expugnatione vel christianorum pace." All five of the other texts re-

and churches that took place in the Empire and elsewhere during the sixteenth century, and notes that "in the seventeenth century especially, lack of restraint became a virtue in Catholic aesthetics" in response to Protestant austerity, and that the widespread renovation or establishment of shrines and the performance of miracles were of a piece with this response. Carlos Eire, *Reformations: The Early Modern World, 1450–1650* (New Haven, 2016), 392, 404–05. Thomas Freeman's work illustrates how the Council of Trent reaffirmed the veneration of images and relics while introducing new controls over the latter's authenticity. He views the sumptuous decoration of the Church of the Gesù in Rome as a betrayal of Ignatius's own austerity, a perspective that has more to do with the author's liberalism than with the saint himself. Thomas Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe* (New Haven, 2011), 254–56.

7 Alain Milhou, *Colomb et le messianisme hispanique* (Montpelier, 2007), 287.

8 *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades*, ed. Joseph V. Ricapito, 11th ed. (Madrid, 1983), 185.

fer to *indulgentiae* or *diplomata pontificum*.⁹ Ignatius' actual uses of the word *cruzada* shed little light on his attitude toward "crusading," but it can be found elsewhere.

In 1552, Juan de Polanco, Ignatius' secretary, wrote two letters to Jerónimo Nadal on his superior's behalf, presenting Nadal with Ignatius' idea for the construction and launching of an armada against the Turks.¹⁰ The letters indicate that this was a matter of some urgency in Ignatius' mind, since he was willing to seek out Emperor Charles V in person if Nadal thought it prudent. Polanco reported that Ignatius was moved "not only by the zeal of charity, but also by the light of reason," and enumerated nine arguments in favor of the armada. Several things stand out by their absence. First, the endeavor is always described as *armada*, never as *empresa*, *negocio*, or any other equivalent contemporary term for crusade campaigns.¹¹ Ignatius desired the recovery of lands that have been lost (*ganar lo perdido*), but his specific examples were the African and Greek coasts and the Mediterranean islands. There is no mention of Jerusalem or any invocation of the old *iter per Hispaniam* theme.¹² In the tradition of the *recuperatio* genre, Ignatius did advocate the conquest of infidel territories in order to facilitate their conversion.¹³ It is clear, however, that conversion was not to be the direct task of the armada itself. Other crusade themes, however, are recognizable even in the context of the mid-sixteenth century. Ignatius' primary concern, to which he dedicated the first two of his nine arguments, was the loss of Christian bodies and souls due to the Turkish presence in the Mediterranean. Many of the faithful who are taken away into the lands of the infidels, he says, renounce Christianity, which causes great suffering to the divine honor and glory and to those who are zealous for the protection and advancement of the faith. The saint warned that princes would have to answer on the Day of Judgment for caring more about their property than about souls for whom Jesus paid the price of his blood and life.¹⁴

9 *SpEx*, §42, 358.

10 *MHSI. Monumenta Ignatiana. Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Societatis Jesu fundatoris epistolae et instrucciones* (hereafter *MI Epp*), vol. 4 (Madrid, 1906), nos. 2774–75, 353–59.

11 Milhou, *Colomb*, 261.

12 This is the idea, first articulated in the 1120s, that the denizens of Iberia would open up another crusade route to Jerusalem once they had conquered the peninsula and North Africa. See Patrick J. O'Banion, "What Has Iberia to Do with Jerusalem? Crusade and the Spanish Route to the Holy Land in the Twelfth Century," *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008): 383–95.

13 "Y podrías poner el pie en muchas tierras de moros y otros infieles, y abrir gran camino para conquistarlos, y consiguientemente hazerlos xpianos." *MI Epp*, vol. 4, no. 2775, 356.

14 "El día del juicio verán los príncipes si deúan menospreciar tantas animas y cuerpos que valen más que todas sus rentas y dignidades y señoríos, pues por cada vna dellas dió Xpo. N. S. el precio de su sangre y vida." *MI Epp*, vol. 4, no. 2775, 355.

From these spiritual concerns, Ignatius moved in his third through eighth arguments to geopolitical issues. While the Turks were at one time not very warlike in the Mediterranean, they have now become a serious threat, and they successfully used a divide-and-conquer strategy against the Byzantines. The armada was necessary to protect various coastlines in Spain and Italy, to keep the sea passages between these two places open, and to eliminate stimulus of civil disturbance in Naples and elsewhere. The armada would encourage the king of France to be more amenable to peace, once his Turkish allies were defeated at sea. Ignatius' final rationale for the enterprise was that it would increase the emperor's honor and reputation among Christians and infidels alike. This increase of honor, however, is not to be sought for its own sake, but to facilitate military success. The armada would allow Christians to bring the fight to their enemies' lands rather than suffer attacks on their own.

The second half of the letter suggests sources from which Charles could obtain the necessary funds, which would be less than the cost of maintaining the numerous coastal garrisons that are threatened by the Turkish navy. The letter recommends taxing the rich religious orders "who have more than they need," such as the Jeronymites, Benedictines, and Carthusians. Charles should also tax the abbeys of Sicily and Naples, where there are no monks. Likewise the bishops and cathedral chapters, the military orders (which are designated *las quarto religiones de caualleros* and which should contribute to the armada on account of their rule of life), grandees, merchants, the king of Portugal, and various Italian cities and lordships should make contributions. Concerning the grandees, the letter observes that it would be more just and in accordance with their honor for such men to expend their wealth on the armada, rather than on hunts, feasts, and excessive retinues (*caças y platos y acompañamientos demasiados*).¹⁵ Lastly, Charles should seek funds from the pope. Ignatius offered no concrete figures for how much the armada would cost, but he thought that all these sources of revenue, along with some *rentas reales*, would allow the emperor to raise a fleet of between two and three hundred ships, nearly all of which would be galleys. The man from Loyola was quite realistic about contemporary royal taxation of the church, and favored it in these circumstances, except insofar as he was mindful of the prerogatives of the Holy See vis-à-vis the military orders and other church properties.¹⁶

The overall picture that emerges from the letter is a naval league, that ubiquitous form of Christian resistance to the Turk during the Late Middle Ages,

¹⁵ *MI Epp.*, vol. 4, no. 2775, 357.

¹⁶ "Y para lo dicho tener forma, que el papa diesse licencia de sacarlo, ó tratarlo con los superiores dellos allá en España y en los demás señoríos suyos, pues es para el bien vniuersal de la xpiandad." *MI Epp.*, vol. 4, no. 2775, 357.

and in outline bears some resemblance to the Christian forces at Lepanto nearly twenty years later.¹⁷ The specific political context of the letter is worth noting as well. Ignatius wrote numerous missives during 1550 and 1551 encouraging Masses and other support for the anti-Turkish armada of Juan de Vega, viceroy of Sicily, and even sent Jerome Nadal as part of the expedition.¹⁸ The Turkish threat, and the formation of naval leagues, was a topic on his mind during these years. Charles's circumstances were also rather unfavorable. In 1551, Tripoli was lost, the bid to secure Prince Philip's succession to the German empire failed, and Charles was forced to make a humiliating retreat across the Alps when his brother and other erstwhile supporters abandoned him. The grand tour to secure the imperial election, moreover, had been extravagant on an unprecedented scale.¹⁹ Ignatius may have believed that Charles needed a word of good counsel and a reminder of his real duties as the leading monarch of Christendom, as indicated by his comments about the last judgment of kings and the lavish spending of nobles. Above all, Ignatius' proposal was marked by sobriety. It contained no direct association with Jerusalem, and the themes of glory, honor, recuperation of lost territory, and conversion were, if still present, rather muted. He saw the Turks as a threat to "what little remains of Christendom" ("lo poco que queda de la xpiandad"). He hoped that the armada would be able to achieve as much as possible, but the goals were presented in down-to-earth terms, despite the scale of the undertaking. This subdued tone harmonizes with his references to *bulas de cruzada*, which were more concerned with ecclesiastical authority and religious devotion than they were with crusade or holy war as such.

The foregoing engagement with the sources sheds some light on the ambivalence of crusading themes in the life and thought of St. Ignatius. Much work has been done to "rehabilitate" the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

17 Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades: From Lyons to Alcazar, 1274–1580* (Oxford, 1992). The resemblance is all the more striking in view of the fact that one of the principal figures responsible for the formation of the Lepanto league was none other than Francis Borgia. The conflicting visions of universal monarchy held by the Jesuit general and the papacy, on the one hand, and the Spanish Habsburgs, on the other, is explored in Manuel Rivero Rodríguez, *La batalla de Lepanto: Cruzada, guerra santa e identidad confesional* (Madrid, 2008).

18 *MI Epp.*, vol. 3, no. 1275, 122; no. 1279, 125; no. 1896, 540; no. 1903, 551; no. 1906, 553; no. 1970, 588–92. Ignatius also wrote the viceroy directly to congratulate him on his victory, saying that the armada was for the exaltation of the faith and the humiliation of its enemies. He also tells Vega that he has a very rare and perpetual crown in heaven and on earth. *MI Epp.*, vol. 3, no. 1392, 191.

19 For an account of this tour based on contemporary chronicles, armor, and art, see Braden Frieder, *Chivalry and the Perfect Prince: Tournaments, Art, and Armor at the Spanish Habsburg Court* (Kirkville, MO, 2008).

as legitimate periods for the serious study of crusading and knighthood. No longer are the four-hundred-plus humanist crusade treatises dismissed as aberrations within an otherwise enlightened age, and the continuing use of crusade rhetoric, preaching, and other mechanisms is more widely recognized.²⁰ There remain good reasons for thinking, with Richard Kaeuper, that this period sounds the death knell for knighthood, but there are also indications that the phenomenon adapted itself to new settings and continued to exercise an important role in European culture, even if increasingly in the realm of fantasy and under the watchful eye of the monarch.²¹ Hence it is no longer appropriate to present a bifurcated Ignatius, as if there were one part of him, which can be called “medieval,” that was influenced by crusading and the chivalric ethos, and another part, now “Renaissance” or “early modern,” that looked ahead to a future without it.²² To have been enamored of a great crusade or deeds of knight-errantry in his youth represented no special anachronism on Ignatius’ part, but was rather a feature of the age in which he lived. Ignatius did make explicit use of these ambient crusade and chivalric ideas and themes in his writings, just as he made use of ambient theological and devotional ideas and themes, but the former were not central to his main concerns and activities, especially for the period of his life for which there is the most extant documentation. Ignatius’s background at court did not make him a theorist of chivalry or military strategy, any more than his founding of the Society of Jesus made him into a theorist of religious life. Scholars, who tend to be theorists, find the bits and pieces of evidence for crusade ideals tantalizing and assume there must be more. Yet there are few direct references to such things in his correspondence or other sources; the expression “knight of Christ,” for example, is rare. He certainly supported the war effort against the Turks, but even that had a particular place in his larger vision. What was, if not anachronistic, at least somewhat discordant with the spirit of the age was the restraint that the mature Ignatius showed towards crusading. There are no echoes in his writings of the royal messianism that was so prevalent in Iberia during this period.²³ Ignatius’ avoidance of such talk requires explanation.

20 Norman Housley, *Crusading and the Ottoman Threat, 1453–1505* (Oxford, 2012).

21 Richard Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry* (Philadelphia, 2009), 194–224; Nigel Saul, *Chivalry in Medieval England* (Cambridge, MA, 2011), 347–70.

22 Teo Ruiz has long argued for the continuity between late medieval and early modern in Spain. Teofilo Ruiz, *Spanish Society 1400–1600* (New York, 2001).

23 “But it is in the activities of the Spanish monarchy in the Old World that royal messianism left its richest traces.” Norman Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe 1400–1536* (Oxford, 2002), 77.

2 The Call of the King and the New Knighthood

The Second Week of the *Spiritual Exercises* begins with the contemplation of two kings.²⁴ The first is the earthly king, chosen by God, whom all princes and Christians revere and obey. He proposes to conquer all the lands of the infidels, and summons his men to follow him. The retreatant is supposed to consider how good subjects should respond to such a liberal and humane king, and how anyone who refused the offer would be universally derided as a mean knight (*peruerso caballero*). Here scholars have found strong resonance with contemporary political ideas and realities. The notion of a king over all other Christian rulers fit readily with the ambitions and self-presentation of both Ferdinand and the Catholic and Charles v; the plan for a massive expedition against the infidels resonated with Ferdinand's North African proposals as well as the abortive crusade of Leo x, which was supposed to unite Western Europe; the image of the king and his faithful knights was appropriately nostalgic in an age that was undergoing a "military revolution."²⁵ Not surprisingly, the "Kingdom meditation" is often acknowledged as a locus of crusade spirituality in the *Exercises*. But there is a second king: Jesus, who summons his followers to join him in the mission to win souls. Ignatius expected that the retreatant would have the desire to serve an earthly king in the manner described, and then learn to apply that desire to the service of Christ. Taken as a whole, this contemplation not only establishes a similarity between contemporary ideas of crusade and kingship, on the one hand, and the service of God, on the other, but also illustrates the greater dissimilarity between them. The contemplation of the earthly king helps to establish a proper frame of mind, but once that has been accomplished, the earthly king must give way entirely to the heavenly king. The true world emperor is Christ; only he can fulfill the exalted expectations surrounding Charles v or any other earthly monarch, and these expectations show the retreatant what the heavenly king is like. He is a model for the earthly king because, although possessing in truth divine majesty, he puts himself at risk for the sake of others.²⁶ The armada letter illustrates this point well. Ignatius' nod to the emperor's own honor (he does not say "glory") comes last and is entirely subordinated to his duties to God and his subjects. Ignatius' understanding

²⁴ *SpEx*, §91–98.

²⁵ Cecil H. Clough, "Chivalry and Magnificence in the Golden Age of the Italian Renaissance," in *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, ed. Sydney Anglo (Woodbridge, 1990), 25–48, at 46–47; Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West* (Cambridge, UK, 1988).

²⁶ Rogelio García Mateo, "El 'Rey eternal': Ética política y espiritualidad," *Manresa* 60 (1988): 135–45.

that the difference between the two kings is one of kind, not degree, seems to have made him allergic to the messianic expectations of Habsburg propaganda and, by extension, to much of the contemporary crusade rhetoric that was associated with it.²⁷ Ignatius shared the widespread view of the age that defending Christendom against the Muslims was a basic duty of rulers, but he did so with an eye to particular priorities: the protection of souls from damnation through apostasy to Islam, the defense of Christian lands, and, if possible, the recovery of lost territory. But war against the Turks was just part of the complex weave of Habsburg propaganda, which included all manner of classical, biblical, millenarian, and apocalyptic themes and images, together with an emphasis on the house's own dynastic interests. His letters to Charles indicate Ignatius' desire to unravel this tapestry and to separate and rework what he regarded as its nobler threads. Thus Ignatius, while accepting certain contemporary realities about royal control over ecclesiastical affairs, maintained a moderately "Gregorian" attitude towards sacred monarchy, as well as an "Augustinian" sobriety about the millennium. He was, as it is often said, a man of his time, but no less was he a man capable of rejecting commonplace contemporary attitudes and enthusiasms.

The movement between similarity and greater dissimilarity within the analogy of service of the king is, I think, crucial to understanding the role of crusading and knighthood in the writings of Ignatius and, even more so, within the order he helped establish. The foundational documents of the Society of Jesus, like the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Formula of the Institute*, seek to both appropriate and transcend these themes. If the *Exercises* depict Jesus as the crusading lord who calls his vassals to join him in his conquest of souls, then the Jesuits who have made the retreat are counted among the worthy knights who answer the call.²⁸ But what sort of knights did Ignatius and his first companions have in mind? It would be going too far to say that the foundation of the Society inaugurated a *nova militia*, as the Knights Templar had, in the words of St. Bernard, done centuries earlier.²⁹ The foundation of the Templars

27 This does not mean that all the sons of Loyola shared their father's perspective; Jesuits at the court of Philip II would encourage certain messianic views, including the vision of the king as the new liberator of Jerusalem, in accordance with the prophecy of Ezekiel. Jesuit theater was also an important conduit of Habsburg ideology. Pedro García Martín, *La péñola y el acero. La idea de cruzada en la España del Siglo de Oro* (Seville, 2004), 64; Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven, 1993), 202.

28 Robert L. Schmitt, "The Christ-Experience and Relationship Fostered in the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius of Loyola," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 6, no. 5 (1974): 217–55.

29 "Novum, inquam, militiae genus, et saeculis inexpertum, qua gemino pariter conflictu atque infatigabiliter decertatur, tum adversus carnem et sanguinem, tum contra spiritualia nequitia in caelestibus." Bernard of Clairvaux, *Liber ad milites Templi de laude novae*

was nevertheless made possible by a major linguistic, conceptual, and social shift regarding knighthood in general, and of knights of Christ (*milites Christi*) in particular.³⁰ Did the age of Ignatius not also witness an important transformation in this regard, as knighthood became increasingly abstracted from its social reality and military and political function? If this led to the fantastical elements of knighthood becoming more prevalent, perhaps it also led in another direction: towards the appropriation of familiar knightly images, patterns, and rhetoric for a new kind of religious order.

The Late Middle Ages had already laid much of the groundwork for this development. His family upbringing and presence at the Castilian court immersed Ignatius in the ways of contemporary chivalry, a point that even dovish biographers readily acknowledge.³¹ He encountered saints of a chivalric hue in the *Flos Sanctorum* that he read during his convalescence.³² Since the twelfth century, a rich exchange of images, concepts, and vocabulary between knighthood and the religious life had been carried out.³³ In other words, the old idea of the religious as *miles Christi*, which has its roots in the Bible and the Church Fathers, had been colored by centuries of chivalric culture, and the Society of Jesus was heir to this development. This was evident, above all, in the order's concentration of authority in particular individuals, in its need for mobility and its consequent break with cloister, and in the military language oriented not only towards the interior battle with powers and principalities, but also to service in the world. So although Ignatius was keen to underscore the greater dissimilarity between the service of the earthly and

militiae, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vol. 3, *Tractatus et Opuscula*, ed. Jean Leclercq and H.M. Rochais (Rome, 1963), 214.

30 I have argued elsewhere that the exercise of arms on horseback and its exigencies operated as the prior form of the military-religious life. Sam Zeno Conedera, *Ecclesiastical Knighthood: The Military Orders in Castile, 1150–1330* (New York, 2015).

31 His family maintained close ties to the Castilian court and had long possessed the right to display the insignia of the Order of the Band on its coat of arms. Numerous siblings undertook foreign adventures on behalf of the crown, and Ignatius himself was regarded as a worthy courtier and competent administrator by his social betters. Rogelio García Mateo, "El mundo caballeresco en la vida de san Ignacio de Loyola," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 60 (1991), 5–27; Tellechea, *Ignatius*, 63–87.

32 Take, for example, the life of St. Dominic, which Ignatius cites in his Autobiography as a particular source of inspiration. The *Flos Sanctorum* describes Dominic as a *caudillo*, and recounts an episode in which heretics threatened to kill the saint. Dominic calmly replied with instructions how to slowly dismember him to make his martyrdom more painful. Evidently the heretics did not follow his advice. Jacobus de Voragine, *Leyenda de los santos*, ed. Félix Juan Cabasés, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu Series Nova 3 (Madrid, 2007), 377–78.

33 Katherine Allen Smith, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture* (Woodbridge, 2012).

heavenly kings, and achieved this in considerable measure in his own life, the similarity between them was also affirmed in his order's structure and spirituality. All this took place without a great deal of self-consciousness on the part of the early Jesuits, without theoretical justifications or even very many direct references, because the features in question were so deeply embedded in the backgrounds and early common life of Ignatius and his first companions. If this is true, then these influences did leave an indirect, even hidden, mark upon the order's history: in the controversies that ensued, first with Dominicans and other religious orders, then with the papacy, and finally within the Society itself, over the "novelties" of the Jesuit charism that seemed to depart from the tradition of religious life.³⁴ As far as I know, no one involved in these debates made the connection, but it is hard not to see a link between certain Jesuit novelties and the order's knightly overtones. Thus Wolter's notion that an influence can be crucial, even pervasive, without leaving explicit or extensive documentary evidence may be correct, although I would attribute less significance to specifically crusading motifs than to more generally knightly/chivalric ones.

The *Formula of the Institute*, which still today functions as a kind of charter for basic elements of the Society's organization and activity, begins with the words "quicumque in Societate nostra ... vult sub crucis vexillo Deo militare."³⁵ They are typically rendered in English as "whoever desires to serve as a soldier of God beneath the banner of the cross." It has long been observed that the notion of "soldier" can be misleading to one who ponders these words, but at least this much is clear: the original phrase evokes the long tradition of *militare Deo* found in both the medieval religious orders and the crusading movement. These were the knights of Christ who populated the imagination of Loyola and his first companions.

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34 For a treatment of the early Dominican critique, see Tellechea, *Ignatius*, 507–08. The controversy within the order is discussed at length in Esther Jiménez Pablo, *La forja de una identidad: La Compañía de Jesús (1540–1640)* (Madrid, 2014).

35 *MHSI. Monumenta Ignatiana. Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Constitutiones Societatis Jesu*, vol. 1, *Monumenta Constitutionum Praevia* (Rome, 1934), 375. Pope Julius III issued the Formula in its final form in 1550 in the bull *Exposcit debitum*.

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